the whole land is taxed. That assumption is wrong. When we say that a *paramba* is taxed, only the trees that stand in it are taxed, and not the soil. It is the actual soil in which fishing operations are taking place that will be taxed.

Mr. President: Since important doubts have been raised, I think it better to refer the Bill to a Select Committee.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Diwan Peishkar):* Sir, I move that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee consisting of Messrs.

1. A. B. Salem,
2. M. K. Devassy,
3. V. K. Bhaskara Menon,
4. M. L. Joseph,
5. C. K. S. Moni,
6. Advocat-General and
7. The Mover.

Motion put and carried

Mr. President: The Advocate-General will be the Chairman. The Committee will report within one month.

RESOLUTIONS—*(cont.)*

4. Abolition of Special Communal Electorates—*(cont.)*

Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri):* Sir, I listened to one of the most confusing arguments yesterday from the Hon'ble Member for Chalakkudi who has tabled this resolution. In the early part of the resolution he wants to abolish communal electorates altogether, in the middle part of the resolution he wants to perpetuate the communal electorate, and in the latter part he wants to confuse all the issues. That is how this resolution stands. It reads in the first part that special communal electorates should be abolished. In the second part he says that a candidate who secures more than half the votes of the community shall be declared elected and in the third part he wants the system of reservation of seats, in case the communal candidate does not go in.

Now, a more absurd proposition has never been tabled in any House. I am sorry I have to characterise it as such. You have to maintain the communal electoral rolls in tact which the first part of this proposition wants to abolish. You have to keep the communal electoral roll and the general electoral roll at the polling station and when the general polling takes place special arrangements have to be made to put the communal vote. Otherwise how will you work out the second part of the proposition to see whether a candidate has

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obtained more than 50 per cent of the communal votes? If the special communal electorates are condemned, then it is for those that are enjoying that privilege and who find that privilege not to be beneficial to table a proposition like this. I find the proposition coming from a gentleman who is elected from a general territorial constituency. I do not know how the communal electorate elected members feel in the matter. We have been finding the phenomena of communal electorates multiplying during the last Franchise Committee. We had in this House a Muhamadan communal electorate. The Muhamadans let go their communal electorates and submitted themselves to the vote of the general electorate by taking reservation, the lesser of the two evils.

Mr. K. M. Ibrahim *(Cranganur):* We are not Muhamadans. We are Muslims.

Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri):* Thank you. I stand corrected.

There was no communal electorate for Christians at all. But now we have got 3 Roman Catholic seats and thereby the separatist tendencies have advanced still further. The Christians who were all united before are now separated. (A member: Who says so?).

The Latin Christians are separated. They have got their own electorates. That is the fragmentation of the Christian community that has been taking place just as fragmentations of holdings, much to your detriment. You have no voice in the selection of the other candidates, no benefits in those elections and so on. That perhaps is irksome now. Then what happened? The most minority sections have given up their communal electorate and they pleaded for giving up the communal electorate. The Jewish seat here was advocated from this very House to be abolished and I am very glad that it is abolished.

Mr. A. Eachara Menon *(Chittur-Rural):* Not by you.

Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri):* I have no power to abolish. If I had the power you would be abolished very soon!

Those that had the power heard with reason and acted. That is all. (A voice—what about Hitler?) There have been many Hitlers in the past and they have been destroyed. If you follow Hitler's path you also will be destroyed. I have no doubt about that. I have no fear in these cases.

In the last election, the voice went forth that the great Ezhuva community who succeeded in getting 5 communal electorates have lost their complete influence in the electorates. Instead of the

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Ezhuva and Latin Christian communities coming together and playing together, acting together, and working together for a common object and uniting together with others, they entirely separated themselves from all the advantages they had previous to the present system. In the old system they had a double advantage. They could vote for their own candidate and they could vote in a general constituency. They gave up that advantage. I felt it in my own constituency. There are a number of Ezhuvas there who would have always supported me. (A voice: 'never'). That is because of *your* Christian-Ezhuva mentality. I give you a challenge to come and stand in Mattancheri and I shall defeat you by 50 per cent. That is the position. The position is, in the general electorate nobody cares for them. Nobody looked at them. They say 'let these Chohans go, what do we care for them? Others said 'ഇവ ചോവന്മാർ പോയ്ത്തൊലയട്ടെ'. Look at this Resolution from another view. If you get half the number of communal votes *ipso facto* you are declared elected. In a general constituency you may have thousand Ezhuva votes and 5000 or 6000 other votes. If one Ezhuva Member would corner 501 votes of his own community he need not do anything else. If you work for 501 votes you are quite safe to be returned to the Council, while another man who has to work for 3000 votes out of the 6000 cannot even go to the Council. To what a farce election will be reduced in these circumstances? When the other man has to run out to the Ezhuvas and to the others, the Ezhuva need run about only to Ezhuva friends.

Mr. K. Ayyappan *(Ezhuvas-Kanayannur):* 501 is not necessary. Only half the number of votes registered.

Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri):* Then there is another line of action. Ask as many Ezhuvas as possible to keep away from coming to the Polling Station. Bring only 10 Ezhuvas and get 6 votes. He goes into the Council on the strength of 6 votes. Would that be in keeping with the dignity of this House and the elections? I certainly think that is a proposition which no member in this House who knows anything about politics would agree to. Those who do not know anything about politics or the trend of events or the system whereby communities must be made to unite and go as a united body progressively in the State may not know the import of the Resolution. Those members who think on the subject will certainly not accede to this proposition. I won't accede to this proposition. That is the thing. It will only work again for greater disintegration in the country than what we have got at present. We have got any amount of separatist tendencies working inside the House and outside the House, and we will be adding

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to it more and more if we accede to this proposition. This is a most reactionary proposition, a most confusing one, devoid of all *political thought* and I would respectfully ask my hon'ble member who has seen as far as the Malay Peninsula, whether in any of those places such a system exists?

Mr. K. M. Ibrahim *(Cranganur):* It exists in Travancore.

Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri):* Travancore is very far behind the times today! This proposition was put at a time when the greatest agitation was going on in that country for purposes which everybody who can see the whole of India, knows. What is the use of trying to copy things which have been brought into play for a particular purpose by a particular person? There is no meaning in these things. We are not to follow Travancore in these things. I am sorry you have provoked me to say something about a State which cannot answer here. I am not going to follow Travancore in any case in this respect. If you wish to follow, you can go there and see what you will get, if you repeat some of the things which you have said here. In these circumstances, Sir, I am sorry I am unable to support this proposition and I vehemently oppose this resolution.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. അയ്യപ്പൻ: എനിക്ക് രാജ്യതന്ത്രമല്ല വേദാന്തമാണ് ഇപ്പോൾ ഓർമ്മവരുന്നത്. വേദാന്തത്തിൽ പറയുന്നത് "സോഹം" അതായത് ആ ആത്മതന്നെയാണ് ഞാൻ എന്നാണ്. ഏതാണ്ട് അതുപോലെതന്നെയാണ് രാജ്യതന്ത്രത്തിലെ തത്വവാദവും. തത്വം താല്പര്യത്തെ സംബന്ധിച്ച പറയുന്നത് സോഹം എന്നാണ്. എല്ലാ തത്വങ്ങളുടേയും അടിയിൽ താല്പര്യങ്ങൾ ഉണ്ടായിരിക്കും. തത്വവാദങ്ങളിൽ സാമുദായികമായിട്ടും പ്രാദേശികമായിട്ടും പേഴ്സനലായിട്ടുള്ള താല്പര്യങ്ങൾ ഉണ്ടായിരിക്കും. താല്പര്യമാകുന്ന ശരീരത്തോടുകൂടിയല്ലാതെ പ്രിൻസിപ്പിളാകുന്ന ആത്മാവിനു് യാതൊരു നിലയുമില്ല. രാജ്യതന്ത്രത്തിന്റെ അടിയിലേക്കു് മുങ്ങുവാൻ കഴിഞ്ഞിട്ടുള്ളവർക്കു് മേൽപറഞ്ഞ സോഹം എന്ന മഹദ്വാക്യത്തിന്റെ തത്വം നല്ലവണ്ണം ഗ്രഹിക്കുവാൻ കഴിഞ്ഞിരിക്കും. മിസ്റ്റർ ജിന്ന ചെയ്യുന്നതു് ഒരു താല്പര്യത്തിനു് വേണ്ടിയുള്ള തത്വവാദമായിരിക്കും. മിസ്റ്റർ രാജേന്ദ്രപ്രസാദ് വേറൊരു താല്പര്യത്തിനുവേണ്ടി തത്വവാദം ചെയ്യുന്നു. ഹിറ്റ്ലർക്കുണ്ട് തത്വം. സ്റ്റാലിനുമുണ്ട് തത്വം. തത്വംതന്നെ ചേമ്പർലെയിനും പറയുന്നു. എന്നാൽ അവർ ഭിന്ന താല്പര്യങ്ങളുടെ പ്രതിനിധ്യമാണ് വഹിക്കുന്നതു്. ഈ രാജ്യത്തു് പല സമുദായങ്ങളുമുണ്ട്. അവരുടെയെല്ലാം താല്പര്യങ്ങൾക്കനുസരിച്ചു് ഡെമോക്രസി പാലിക്കുവാൻ പറ്റുന്ന സമ്പ്രദായം കണ്ടുപിടിക്കുവാനായി ഈ നിശ്ചയത്തെപ്പറ്റിയുള്ള വാദപ്രതിവാദം ഉപയോഗിക്കണമെന്നു് ഞാൻ ഈ സഭയോടു് അപേക്ഷിക്കുന്നു. ഈ നിശ്ചയത്തെപ്പറ്റിയുള്ള വാദത്തിൽ എന്തൊക്കെയാണു് ഇവിടെ ചിലർ പറഞ്ഞതു്. നിശ്ചയം സ്വീകരിച്ചാൽ 60 വോട്ടുകൊണ്ടു് ഒരു ഈഴവൻ നിയമസഭയിൽ പോകുമെന്നാണു് ഒരു മെമ്പർ പറയുന്നതു്. പോയാൽ എന്തു്. രണ്ടായിരം വോട്ടുകിട്ടിയ ഒരുസ്ഥാനാർത്ഥിക്കു

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തിരായിട്ട് ഇരുന്നൂറു വോട്ടുകിട്ടിയ ഒരാൾ ഈ നിയമ സഭയിലിരിക്കുന്നതു കൊണ്ട് ഒരു ദോഷവും വന്നിട്ടില്ല. ഒരാൾ പായുന്ന ൪൦൦-ം, ൫൦൦-ം വോട്ടുകൾമാത്രം കിട്ടിയ ഈഴവ പ്രതിനിധികൾക്ക് നമ്പൂതിരിമാരുടെ നിയമനിർമ്മാണത്തിൽ പങ്കെടുക്കുവാൻ അവകാശം വരുമെന്നു. വെള്ളക്കാരുടെ പത്തോ പന്ത്രണ്ടോ വോട്ടുകൾ കിട്ടിയവർക്കും അതിനധികം അവകാശം കിട്ടിയിട്ടുണ്ടല്ലൊ.

ഇവിടെ ഈ നിശ്ചയം നടപ്പാക്കുന്നതിന് ചില വിഷമങ്ങൾ ഇല്ലാതില്ല. കൊച്ചി രാജ്യത്ത് ഇപ്പോഴുള്ള സമുദായ രഞ്ജിപ്പിന്നും ഉടവു വരാതെ ഫ്രാഞ്ചൈസ് വ്യവസ്ഥകളിൽ വല്ല മാറ്റവും വരുത്താമോ എന്നാണ് നോക്കേണ്ടതു്. പൊതു മണ്ഡലങ്ങളിൽ വോട്ടില്ലാത്തതു് ഈഴവർക്കും ലത്തീങ്കാർക്കും സങ്കടകരമാണ്.

മിസ്റ്റർ വി. കെ. കുട്ടി: ഈ സംഗതി ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മെമ്പർ ആദ്യം ആലോചിച്ചില്ലേ?

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. അയ്യപ്പൻ: ആലോചിക്കാതെയിരുന്നതൊന്നുമല്ല. ഒരു റിപ്പോർട്ട് പുറത്തു വരുന്നതിനുമുമ്പ് എന്തെല്ലാം കഴിയേണ്ടതായിട്ടുണ്ട്. ഇന്നിവിടെ ഉണ്ടായിരിക്കുന്നപോലെയുള്ള ഒരു വലിയ താല്പര്യമത്സരം കഴിഞ്ഞതിനുശേഷം, പല വിട്ടുവീഴ്ചകളും വരുത്തിയതിനുശേഷം, സ്വന്തം അഭിപ്രായങ്ങൾ വളരെയൊക്കെവിട്ടുശേഷം ഒരുവിധം യോജിച്ചാണ് ഫ്രാഞ്ചൈസ് റിപ്പോർട്ട് ഒപ്പിട്ടതു്.

Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri)*: On a point of personal explanation, Sir, I think the hon'ble member was very undignified in casting an *inuendo* or a remark which he could not make out. I protest against it, and I assert that it is not in keeping with the dignity of this House to allow that remark to go unchallenged. His insinuation is most improper. I came by the front door; I came by the law laid down for the constitution of this House by His Highness the Maharaja, and it is not for my friend to cast any aspersion on the procedure laid down for our guidance by which I came to this House here. I am sorry he has made that suicidal remark. That shows that he does know neither the law nor the procedure.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. അയ്യപ്പൻ: സർ, ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മട്ടാഞ്ചേരി മെമ്പർ നിയമവിരുദ്ധമായ മാർഗ്ഗത്തിൽക്കൂടി ഇവിടെ വന്നു എന്നു ഞാൻ പറഞ്ഞില്ല.

Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri)*: My learned friend came here without getting a single vote.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. അയ്യപ്പൻ: രണ്ടായിരം വോട്ടു കിട്ടിയ ആൾ പുറത്തു നിൽക്കുമ്പോൾ ഇരുന്നൂറു വോട്ടു കിട്ടിയ ആൾ വന്നുവെന്നേ ഞാൻ പറഞ്ഞുള്ളൂ.

Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri)*: I only said that if we follow the wording of this resolution, it is possible for any member who takes it into his head not to take any trouble and to so arrange that he may come into the Council by getting 6 votes.

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Mr. President : The hon'ble member need not explain why he got only a small number of votes. The great people are appreciated only by a few *(Laughter)*.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. അയ്യപ്പൻ : ഞാൻ അതിനോടു് പരിപൂർണ്ണമായി യോജിക്കുന്നു. ഒരൊറ്റ വോട്ടുപോലുമില്ലാതെയാണു് ഞാൻ ഇവിടെ വന്നിരിക്കുന്നതു് എന്നു് സമ്മതിച്ചാൽ കഴിഞ്ഞല്ലോ. ഞാൻ ഇവിടെ പറഞ്ഞ സംഗതി ഈ സഭയിലെ ഏതെങ്കിലും മെമ്പർമാരെ ആക്ഷേപിക്കുവാനല്ല. അങ്ങിനെ ആക്കേണ്ടുകിലും ആക്ഷേപമായിട്ടു തോന്നത്തക്കവിധത്തിൽ എന്റെ ഭാഷയിൽ വല്ല ന്യൂനതകളും ഉണ്ടായിട്ടുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ ഞാൻ അതിൽ മനസ്താപിക്കുന്നു. ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മെമ്പർ പറഞ്ഞതു ഏതാനും വോട്ടുകൾ കിട്ടിയ ആളുകളും ഈ നിയമസഭയിൽ വന്നു പോകുമെന്നാണു്".

Mr. President : According to Mr. Moothedan's proposition the special communities need not care for the other communities but the other communities must care for them.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. അയ്യപ്പൻ : ഇവിടെ എല്ലാവർക്കും പൊതു നിയോജകമണ്ഡലമാക്കിയാൽ കൊള്ളാമെന്നുള്ള ഒരാഗ്രഹം പലർക്കുമുണ്ടു്. പക്ഷെ പൊതു നിയോജകമണ്ഡലങ്ങൾ മാത്രം വെക്കുകയാണെന്നുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ ചില സമുദായങ്ങൾക്കു് ഈ നിയമസഭയിൽ വരുവാൻ സാധിക്കുകയില്ല. വോട്ടിന്റെ സ്ഥിതികൊണ്ടും സാമ്പത്തികസ്ഥിതികൊണ്ടും ചില സമുദായങ്ങൾക്കു് ഇവിടെ കടക്കുവാനുള്ള നിലയില്ല. സമുദായ പരിരക്ഷകൾ ആവശ്യമില്ലെന്നു വാദിക്കുന്നവർക്കു പൊതുമണ്ഡലങ്ങളിൽക്കൂടി ചില വലിയ സമുദായങ്ങൾക്കു നിയമസഭകളിൽ കടക്കാൻ സാധിക്കാത്തതിൽ ഒരു ഖേദവുംചിന്തയും ഇല്ല. തത്വവാദങ്ങൾ പറയുന്നവരുടെ തത്വം ജനപ്രാതിനിദ്ധ്യം വേണമെന്നുള്ളതാണല്ലൊ. ജനപ്രാതിനിദ്ധ്യം യഥാർത്ഥമാകുന്നുവെങ്കിൽ ഈ രാജ്യത്തെ ജനങ്ങൾക്കെല്ലാം കഴിയുന്നിടത്തോളം പ്രാതിനിദ്ധ്യം ഉണ്ടായിരിക്കണം. ഇവിടെ ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ സമുദായക്രമം വെച്ചു നോക്കുമ്പോൾ അധികം മുന്നോട്ടു വന്നിട്ടില്ലാത്ത സമുദായങ്ങൾക്കും, സാമ്പത്തിക സ്ഥിതിയിൽ മോശമായ സമുദായങ്ങൾക്കും ചില പ്രത്യേക പരിരക്ഷകൾകൊണ്ടല്ലാതെ പ്രാതിനിദ്ധ്യം കിട്ടുകയില്ല. ഇവിടെ ജനപ്രാതിനിദ്ധ്യം തത്വമല്ല വേറെ പൊതു നിയോജകമണ്ഡലങ്ങൾകൊണ്ടു സാധിക്കുന്നതു". ഏതാനും ചില സമുദായങ്ങളുടെ പ്രാതിനിദ്ധ്യം മാത്രമേ അതുകൊണ്ടു സിദ്ധിക്കയുള്ളുവെന്നുള്ളതു് ഈ രാജ്യത്തെ സ്ഥിതി അറിയാവുന്നവർക്കെല്ലാം മനസ്സിലാക്കുവാൻ പ്രയാസമില്ല. അതുകൊണ്ടു് അതിനെപ്പറ്റി പ്രസംഗിച്ചു മറ്റേയും കേൾപ്പിക്കേണ്ട ആവശ്യമുണ്ടെന്നു തോന്നുന്നില്ല. ഇതുവരെ സമുദായവാദത്തിനെതിരായി ഗംഭീരമായി വാദിച്ചുകൊണ്ടിരുന്ന നാഷണൽ കോൺഗ്രസ്സുകാർ തന്നെ സാമുദായവാദം സമ്മതിച്ചു കഴിഞ്ഞിട്ടുണ്ടു്. അവർ അപേക്ഷിച്ച വാദം, പകുതുകമാത്രമാണു് ഇവിടെ ചിലർ ഇപ്പോൾ ചെയ്യുന്നതു്. ഇൻഡ്യയിൽ ജനപ്രാതിനിദ്ധ്യതത്വമനുസരിച്ചു എന്തെങ്കിലും നടക്കണമെങ്കിൽ ഭിന്ന സമുദായ പ്രാതിനിദ്ധ്യത്തിനുള്ള വ്യവസ്ഥകൾ കൂടിയല്ലാതെ സാധിക്കുകയില്ല. ആ സംഗതി മനസ്സിലാക്കിക്കൊണ്ടു് ഇനി എങ്ങിനെയാണു് ഭിന്ന സമുദായങ്ങളുടെ താല്പര്യങ്ങളെ ഇണക്കിക്കൊണ്ടുപോകേണ്ടതെന്നാണു് ആലോചിക്കേണ്ടതു്. എന്റെ ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട സ്നേഹിതൻ ഇവിടെ അവതരിപ്പിച്

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ച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതായ ഈ വ്യവസ്ഥ സ്വീകരിക്കുന്നതായാൽ ഈഴവരുടേയും ലത്തീൻ ക്രസ്ത്യാനികളുടേയും കാര്യത്തിൽ അവർക്ക് അവരുടെ സ്ഥാനാർത്ഥികളെ തിരഞ്ഞെടുക്കുന്നതിനും കൂടുതൽ സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യമുണ്ടായിരിക്കും. ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മട്ടാഞ്ചേരി മെമ്പർ പറഞ്ഞതുപോലെ മിക്കവാറും അവസരങ്ങളിൽ മറുകക്ഷിയുടെ വോട്ടിന്നു പോകേണ്ട ആവശ്യമില്ലാത്ത സ്ഥിതിയുംവരാം. ഈഴവർക്കു പൊതുമണ്ഡലങ്ങളിൽനിന്നു ഒരു സ്ഥാനവും കിട്ടാതെ അവരുടെ വോട്ടോടുകൂടി മറുകക്ഷിയിൽപ്പെട്ടവർ മാത്രം നിയമസഭയിൽ പോയിരുന്ന കാലത്തു യാതൊരാളും ആ സ്ഥിതിക്കു എതിരു പറഞ്ഞിരുന്നില്ല.

മിസ്റ്റർ ടി. എ. രാമചന്ദ്രയ്യർ: അങ്ങിനെ ഒരു കാലം ഉണ്ടായിരുന്നുവോ?

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. അയ്യപ്പൻ: ഉണ്ടായിരുന്നു. അന്നു് രണ്ടു പ്രത്യേക സ്ഥാനങ്ങളും മാത്രം മാറ്റി വെച്ചിരുന്നു. അതും പാടില്ലെന്നു ചിലർ വാദിച്ചിരുന്നു. ഇപ്പോൾ അഞ്ചു സ്ഥാനങ്ങളും വെച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതും പാടില്ലെന്നതന്നെയാണു് ചിലർക്കു തോന്നുന്നതു്. പ്രത്യേക നിയോജകമണ്ഡലങ്ങളും റിസർവേഷനുമെല്ലാം അബദ്ധമാണെന്നു പറയുന്ന ആളുകളുടെ തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പിൽ ഈഴവരുംകൂടി ഉൾപ്പെടുന്നതിനെ എന്തിനാണു് എതിർക്കുന്നു. ഈഴവർക്കു പൊതുമണ്ഡലങ്ങളിൽനിന്നു വരാൻ നിവൃത്തിയില്ലാത്തതുകൊണ്ടു് അവർക്കു കുറെ പ്രത്യേകമണ്ഡലങ്ങളും കൊടുത്തും മറുകക്ഷിയുടെ തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പിൽ ഈഴവരും വോട്ടു ചെയ്യുകൊള്ളട്ടെയെന്നു വിചാരിക്കുകയാണു് വേണ്ടതു്. പക്ഷെ അങ്ങിനെ വിചാരിക്കുകയില്ല. അവർക്കു മറുപ്രകാരത്തിൽ വരുവാൻ നിവൃത്തിയില്ലാത്തതുകൊണ്ടു് കുറെ സീറുകളും റിസർവ്വു് ചെയ്യണമെന്നാണു് പറയുന്നതു്. അവർക്കു കൊടുക്കാമെന്നു ഒടുവിൽത്തോട്ടുകൂടി തീർച്ചയാക്കിയതു് കൊടുക്കണമെന്നു മാത്രമേ പറയുന്നുള്ളൂ. പക്ഷെ ചില സമുദായങ്ങളും അതിന്നു സമ്മതിക്കുകയില്ല. നായർ സമുദായവും സിറിയൻ ക്രസ്ത്യൻ സമുദായവും ഇതു സമ്മതിക്കുകയില്ല.

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* Why not we use our influence in the matter of selecting an Ezhuva candidate?

Mr. President: He concedes that proposition.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. അയ്യപ്പൻ: ഞാൻ അതു സമ്മതിക്കുന്നു. നായന്മാരും സിറിയൻ ക്രസ്ത്യാനികളും മിസ്റ്റർ സേലവും, മിസ്റ്റർ മത്തായിയും പറയുന്ന നിലയല്ല എടുക്കുന്നതു്. അവർ അവരുടെ പ്രത്യേകം താല്പര്യത്തെപ്പറ്റി വാദിക്കുകമാത്രമാണു് ചെയ്യുന്നതു്. അതു പരസ്യമായി സമ്മതിക്കട്ടെ.

Mr. V. J. Mathai *(Planters):* My friend is suggesting that I am hiding certain facts. I am not afraid of meeting him. The Hon'ble Member for Kanayannur Ezhuvas throws away principles and takes up men. He forgets the ball and fights with the players. That is worse in the afternoon.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. അയ്യപ്പൻ: അഡൾട്ട് ഫ്രാഞ്ചൈസും ബഹുഭൂരിപക്ഷമണ്ഡലങ്ങളും വെച്ചാൽ ഈഴവർക്കു റിസർവേഷൻ വേണ്ടിവരികയില്ല. എല്ലാവർക്കും

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പ്രാതിനിദ്ധ്യം കിട്ടുന്ന നിലയിൽ എത്തുവാൻ കഴിയുന്നതുവരെ ഈഴവർക്കും ലത്തീൻ ക്രസ്ത്യാനികൾക്കും മുസ്ലീമിങ്ങൾക്കും കൊടുത്തിട്ടുള്ളതായ പ്രത്യേക ഗണന മാറുവാൻ നിവൃത്തിയില്ല. ഈ റസല്യൂഷനെപ്പറ്റി നായന്മാരും സിറിയൻ ക്രസ്ത്യാനികളും പറയുന്ന വിഷമം കുറെ ഉണ്ടെന്നു ഞാൻ സമ്മതിക്കുന്നു. ആ വിഷമം സഹിച്ചേ റിസർവ്വേഷൻ വഴിക്കു ഞങ്ങൾക്കു ഞങ്ങളുടെ സ്ഥാനാർത്ഥികളെ അയക്കുവാൻ സാധിക്കയുള്ളൂ.

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development)*: Let me make a correction. We do not object to reservation. Please understand that.

റിസർവേഷൻ ഈഴവർക്കു മാത്രം വേണമെന്നു് ഇവിടെ പറയുവാൻ പാടില്ലാത്തതാണു്. അതിൽ ഞങ്ങൾക്കും കൂടി കൈ ഉണ്ടാകണം.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. അയ്യപ്പൻ : മുസ്ലീമിങ്ങൾക്കു കൊടുത്തിട്ടുള്ള റിസർവേഷൻ അവർ സന്തോഷത്തോടുകൂടി സമ്മതിക്കുന്നു. ആ റിസർവേഷൻകൊണ്ടു് ഞങ്ങൾക്കു യാതൊരു പ്രയോജനവുമില്ല. ഈഴവർക്കു് കുറെ അധികം വോട്ടുകൾ ഒന്നോ രണ്ടോ കാൺസ്റ്റിറ്റ്വൻസിയിലല്ലാതെ വേറെയുള്ള കാൺസ്റ്റിറ്റ്വൻസികളിൽ ഇല്ല. നായന്മാരെപ്പോലെയുള്ള ഭൂരിപക്ഷം വോട്ടു് ഈഴവർക്കില്ല. മുസ്ലീമിങ്ങൾക്കു് ഇപ്പോൾ അനുവദിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതുപോലെയുള്ള റിസർവേഷൻ കൊടുക്കുകയാണെങ്കിൽതന്നെയും ഈഴവരുടെ സ്ഥാനാർത്ഥികളായിട്ടു പോകുന്നതു് ഈഴവർക്കു വിശ്വാസമുള്ളവരായിരിക്കുകയില്ല.

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development)*: Is it not possible that a Nayar who comes here will care only for the interest of the Ezhuvas and not for the Nayars ?

Mr. President : Those things are not disputed.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. അയ്യപ്പൻ : ആ സംഗതിയല്ല ഞാൻ പറയുന്നതു്. മുസ്ലീമിങ്ങൾക്കുള്ളതുപോലെയുള്ള റിസർവേഷൻ കിട്ടുകയാണെങ്കിൽ ഈഴവരുടെ സ്ഥാനാർത്ഥികളായിട്ടു വരുന്നതു് നായന്മാർ തിരഞ്ഞെടുത്തയച്ചിട്ടുള്ളവരായിരിക്കും. ഈ സംഗതിയിൽ മുസ്ലീമിങ്ങൾക്കും ലത്തീൻക്രസ്ത്യാനികൾക്കും ഇല്ലാത്ത ഒരു വിഷമം ഈഴവർക്കുണ്ടു്. സാധാരണനിലയിലുള്ള റിസർവേഷൻ തരുകയാണെങ്കിൽ അതു് എന്റെ സമുദായം അനുവദിച്ചാലും ഇല്ലെങ്കിലും എനിക്കുള്ള അഭിപ്രായം അങ്ങിനെയുള്ള ഒരു റിസർവേഷനെക്കാൾ നല്ലതു് സമുദായങ്ങളുടെ പ്രത്യേകമണ്ഡലങ്ങൾതന്നെയാണെന്നാണു്. അങ്ങിനെയുള്ള പ്രത്യേകമണ്ഡലങ്ങൾക്കു് വേറെ ആളുകൾ പറയുന്ന ദോഷങ്ങളൊന്നുമില്ല. പ്രത്യേകമണ്ഡലങ്ങളിൽനിന്നു വരുന്ന ഈഴവരും ലത്തീൻ ക്രസ്ത്യാനികളും പൊതുക്കാര്യങ്ങളിൽ ഒന്നിലും പിന്നോക്കമല്ല. പൊതുമണ്ഡലക്കാരെപ്പോലെതന്നെ അവരും എല്ലാ പാർട്ടിയിലുമുണ്ടു്. പൊതുമണ്ഡലം വിട്ടുപോയ കാര്യത്തിൽ പരമസങ്കടം സമുദായത്തിനുണ്ടു്. അതുപോലെതന്നെ ലത്തീൻക്രസ്ത്യാനികൾക്കും സങ്കടമുണ്ടു്. അതുകൊണ്ടു് സമുദായങ്ങളുടെ അഭിപ്രായവും നിങ്ങളുടെ താല്പര്യങ്ങളും വെച്ചു് ഈ സമുദായവോട്ടുകൾ കിട്ടിയവരിൽ ഭൂരിപക്ഷം പൊതുവോട്ടു കിട്ടുന്നവരെ തിരഞ്ഞെടുക്കണമെന്നുള്ള ഒരു മിനിമം വെച്ചാൽ വിരോധമില്ല.

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Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* Are you prepared to apply the same principle with regard to Roman Catholics and Nayars in the constituencies where they predominate?

Mr. C. R. Iyyunni *(Trichur-South):* You are mistaken with regard to the Roman Catholics. I will give you the figures.

Mr. President: The hon'ble member can speak afterwards.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. അയ്യപ്പൻ: റോമൻ കത്തോലിക്കരുടെ കാര്യവും അങ്ങിനെയാണെന്നുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ അവർക്കും കൊടുത്തുകൊള്ളുക. പ്രത്യേകപരിരക്ഷ കൂടാതെ നിയമസഭയിലേക്കു പോകുവാൻ കഴിയാത്ത സമുദായങ്ങൾക്കു് പരിരക്ഷ കൊടുക്കുന്നതിൽ എനിക്കു യാതൊരു വിരോധവുമില്ല. മുസ്ലീമിങ്ങൾക്കു കൊടുത്തിട്ടുള്ളതുപോലെയുള്ള റിസർവേഷൻകൊണ്ടു് ഈഴവർക്കോ ലത്തീൻ ക്രസ്ത്യാനികൾക്കോ യാതൊരു പ്രയോജനവുമില്ല.

ഈ നിശ്ചയം അസംബന്ധം ആണെന്നു് ഇവിടെ പറയുകയുണ്ടായി. ഇതു ശരിക്കു വായിച്ചു മനസ്സിലാക്കിയിരുന്നുവെങ്കിൽ അങ്ങിനെ പറയുമായിരുന്നില്ല. ഈ നിശ്ചയം സ്വീകരിക്കുന്നതിൽ ഈ നിയമസഭ ഒരുപ്രകാരത്തിലും എതിരു കാണിക്കുവാൻ പാടില്ലാത്തതാണു്. കുറെക്കാലം കഴിഞ്ഞാൽ പിന്നെ ഈ വ്യവസ്ഥ ആരും ആവശ്യപ്പെടുകയില്ല. അതുകൊണ്ടു് തൽക്കാലം ഒരു രക്ഷയായി മിനിമമെങ്കിലും വെക്കുന്നതിൽ എനിക്കു വിരോധമില്ലെന്നും, മുസ്ലീമിങ്ങൾക്കു കൊടുത്തിട്ടുള്ള റിസർവേഷൻ ഞങ്ങൾക്കു് ഒരിക്കലും അനുകൂലമായിട്ടുള്ളതല്ലെന്നുമുള്ള അഭിപ്രായത്തോടുകൂടി ഞാൻ ഈ നിശ്ചയത്തെ അനുകൂലിക്കുന്നു.

[At this stage, the Deputy President took the chair]

മിസ്റ്റർ സി. വി. ഇയ്യു: സർ, ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട കണയന്നൂർ ഈഴവമെമ്പർ ഒയ്യാരി രാഘപടി പറയുമോ? ഈഴവസമുദായത്തിൽ, ഓരോ താലൂക്കിലും ഏറ്റവും അധികം ജനസംഖ്യയുള്ള ഏതെങ്കിലും നിയോജകമണ്ഡലങ്ങളിൽ ഓരോ സീറ്റു റിസർവു ചെയ്യാൽ മതിയോ?

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. അയ്യപ്പൻ: അതിന്റെ കണക്കു നോക്കിയാണു് പറയുന്നതു്. അഞ്ചിനെയുള്ള രണ്ടു സ്ഥലങ്ങളേയുള്ളൂ.

മിസ്റ്റർ സി. വി. ഇയ്യു: സർ, ഈ പ്രമേയത്തിന്റെ തത്വത്തോടു് ഞാൻ യോജിക്കുന്നു. ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട കണയന്നൂർ ഈഴവമെമ്പറുടെ അഭിപ്രായം കേട്ടു, നായന്മാർക്കും സിറിയൻ ക്രസ്ത്യാനികൾക്കും ഈഴവസമുദായത്തോടു് പ്രത്യേകം വഴക്കുണ്ടെന്നു തോന്നും. എന്നാൽ വാസ്തവത്തിൽ അങ്ങിനെ മേപ്പടി സമുദായങ്ങൾക്കു് വഴക്കില്ലെന്നാണു് എനിക്കു പറയുവാനുള്ളതു്. അപൂർവ്വം ചില നായന്മാർക്കും ചില സിറിയൻ ക്രസ്ത്യാനികൾക്കും വഴക്കുണ്ടായേക്കാം. വാസ്തവത്തിൽ യഥാർത്ഥദേശീയമനോഭാവമുള്ള യാതൊരു നായർക്കും ക്രസ്ത്യാനിക്കും ഇതിൽ വഴക്കുണ്ടാകയില്ല. കണയന്നൂർ ഈഴവരെ സംബന്ധിച്ചിടത്തോളം വളരെയൊന്നും എനിക്കറിഞ്ഞുകൂടാ. എന്റെ നിയോജകമണ്ഡലത്തിലുള്ള ഈഴവരെ സംബന്ധിച്ചിടത്തോളം അവർക്കു എതു രൂപത്തിലുള്ള റിസർവേഷനിലും വിരോധമില്ല. വാസ്തവത്തിൽ ഈ സഭ സാമുദായികമായ കാര്യങ്ങൾ തീർച്ചയാക്കുമ്പോൾ അതാതു സമുദായങ്ങളെ പ്രതിനിധിക

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രിക്കുന്നവരുടെ അഭിപ്രായം അനുസരിച്ചുപോകണമെന്നുള്ള കൺവെൻഷൻ ഉണ്ടാക്കീട്ടുണ്ടല്ലൊ. സാമുദായികനിയോജകമണ്ഡലങ്ങളെ സംബന്ധിക്കുന്ന കാര്യത്തിൽ അല്ലെങ്കിൽ സമുദായത്തെത്തിയെ ബാധിക്കുന്ന തരത്തിലുള്ള ഏത മഹാകാര്യത്തിൽ ആ തരത്തിലുള്ള സമുദായങ്ങളെ പ്രതിനിധികരിക്കുന്ന മെമ്പർമാരുടെ അഭിപ്രായത്തിനു പൊതുനിയോജകമണ്ഡലത്തിലെ മെമ്പർമാരുടെ അഭിപ്രായത്തേക്കാളും വിലയും പ്രാമാണ്യവും കൊടുക്കണമെന്നാണ് എനിക്കു പറയുവാനുള്ളതു്, ദേശീയബോധം പരത്തുനടിക്കയും അകത്തു സമുദായികമനഃസ്ഥിതി വെച്ചുകൊണ്ടിരിക്കയും ചെയ്യുന്ന ആളുകൾ ഈ സഭയിലില്ലെന്നായിരുന്നു ഞാൻ വിചാരിച്ചിരുന്നതു്. ഈഴവാദികൾക്കു് പ്രത്യേകചില ആനുകൂല്യങ്ങൾ കൊടുക്കുന്നതിനു നായന്മാർ എതിരാണെന്നു ബ. മന്ത്രി പറഞ്ഞതു്, അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ പാർട്ടിയെ പ്രതിനിധീകരിച്ചു പ്രസ്താവിച്ചതോ, അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ നിയോജകമണ്ഡലത്തെ പ്രതിനിധീകരിച്ചുകൊണ്ടോ അല്ലെങ്കിൽ അദ്ദേഹം കൂടി ഉൾപ്പെട്ടുന്ന നായർസമുദായത്തെ പ്രതിനിധീകരിച്ചുകൊണ്ടോ ഏതുവിധത്തിലാണു് അദ്ദേഹം പറഞ്ഞതു് എന്നു് എനിക്കു മനസ്സിലാകുന്നില്ല. ഏതുവിധമായാലും പൊതുനിയോജകമണ്ഡലങ്ങളെ പ്രതിനിധീകരിക്കുന്ന ആളുകൾ ബ. മന്ത്രിയുടെ സ്വരത്തിൽ സംസാരിക്കുന്നതു ഇവിടത്തെ ജനാധിപത്യത്തെ കൊല്ലുന്ന നയമാണു് എന്നാണു് എനിക്കു ഉൽബോധിപ്പിപ്പാനുള്ളതു്. കൊച്ചിയെ സംബന്ധിച്ചിടത്തോളം നോക്കുകയാണെങ്കിൽ ഇത്രത്തോളം സമുദായത്തെത്തിയുള്ള രാജ്യം വേറെയില്ല. ഇന്ത്യയിലെ ഏറ്റവും വലിയ രാഷ്ട്രീയ സ്ഥാപനം—മഹാത്മാഗാന്ധിയുടെ നേതൃത്വത്തിൽ—അദ്ദേഹം കാൺഗ്രസ്സുകാരനല്ല—നടത്തപ്പെടുന്ന—കാൺഗ്രസ്സ് കക്ഷിതന്നെ—ഇപ്പോൾ സമുദായ പ്രാതിനിദ്ധ്യവാദങ്ങളെ ഒരു വിധത്തിൽ സമ്മതിച്ചു കൊടുക്കാമെന്നായിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നു് സാധാരണ പത്രം വായിച്ചുകൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്നവർക്കു ബോദ്ധ്യപ്പെടുന്നതാണു്. ഇന്ത്യയിലെ ആ വലിയ രാഷ്ട്രീയ കക്ഷിക്കു ആ അഭിപ്രായം വന്നിരിക്കെ പ്രത്യേക നിയോജകമണ്ഡലങ്ങളുടെ നന്മ അനുഭവിച്ചുകൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്ന ഈഴവരേയും ലത്തീൻ ക്രസ്ത്യാനികളേയും പോലെയുള്ള സമുദായങ്ങൾ പൊതു നിയോജകമണ്ഡലങ്ങളിലേക്കുള്ള സ്ഥാനങ്ങൾ ആശിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു പൊതു നിയോജകമണ്ഡലങ്ങളിൽനിന്നും അവർക്കും പ്രതിനിധികളെ അയക്കാമെന്നു പറയുന്നതിനു പൊതു നിയോജകമണ്ഡലങ്ങളെ പ്രതിനിധീകരിക്കുന്ന എന്നെപ്പോലെയുള്ള ആളുകൾക്കു് യാതൊരു വഴക്കും പിടിക്കുവാൻ പാടില്ല. പ്രത്യേകിച്ചും എന്നെപ്പോലെയുള്ള ന്യൂനപക്ഷ പ്രബല സമുദായങ്ങൾക്കും അതിൽ വഴക്കുണ്ടാക്കേണ്ട കാര്യമില്ല.

ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട ദിവാൻപേഷ്കാർക്കും കണയന്നൂർ ഈഴവ മെമ്പർ അവർകൾക്കും ഓർമ്മയുണ്ടായിരിക്കും—അവർ കുന്നംകുളത്തു ഫ്രാഞ്ചയിസിനെ തെളിവെടുക്കുവാൻ വന്ന സമയത്തു—അവിടത്തെ അറോമ കത്തോലിക്ക ക്രസ്ത്യാനികളോടു പ്രത്യേക നിയോജകമണ്ഡലം വേണൊ എന്നു ചോദിച്ചതിനു് അവർക്കു പ്രത്യേക നിയോജകമണ്ഡലങ്ങൾ വേണ്ടാ എന്നു് അവർ മൊഴികൊടുത്തതു് സ്മരണീയമാണു്. റിസർവേഷൻ വേണൊ എന്നു ചോദിച്ചപ്പോഴും വേണ്ട എന്നാണു് അവർ പറഞ്ഞതു്. ഈഴവരോടും അതേപ്രകാരം ചോദിച്ചപ്പോൾ അവരും പ്രത്യേക നിയോജകമണ്ഡലങ്ങൾ വേണ്ട എന്നാണു് പറഞ്ഞതു്. അതുപോലെ നായന്മാരും സിറിയൻ ക്രസ്ത്യാനികളും പ്രത്യേക നിയോജകമണ്ഡലങ്ങൾ വേണ്ട എന്നു് പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുണ്ടു്. ദേശീയവാദത്തെ മുൻനിർത്തികൊണ്ടു് നാമെല്ലാവരും, ഈഴവരും ക്രസ്ത്യാനികളും മുസ്ലീമിങ്ങളും, നായന്മാരുമെല്ലാം കൊച്ചി രാജ്യക്കാരനെന്നു് ഓർമ്മിക്കേണ്ടതു് അ

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ത്യാവശ്യമാണ്. ഈഴവ മെമ്പറും മുസ്ലീം മെമ്പറും ക്രസ്ത്യൻ മെമ്പറും അവരവരുടെ സമുദായനീതി പാലിക്കുന്നതിനു വേണ്ടി എന്തെങ്കിലും ആവശ്യപ്പെട്ടാൽ മറ്റുള്ള പ്രബല സമുദായങ്ങൾ അതു സമ്മതിച്ചു കൊടുക്കേണ്ടതാണ്. എന്നു തന്നെയല്ല അവരുടെ അഭിപ്രായം അവർ പ്രതിനിധീകരിക്കുന്ന സമുദായത്തിന്റെ അഭിപ്രായമായിട്ട് കണക്കാക്കേണ്ടതുമാണ്. എങ്ങിനെയെങ്കിലും രാജ്യത്തെ സമുദായ മൈത്രി സ്ഥാപിക്കുന്നതിനെ ആസ്പദമാക്കി അവർ ആവശ്യപ്പെടുന്ന രീതിയുള്ള പ്രത്യേക നിയോജകമണ്ഡലങ്ങൾ ഉണ്ടാക്കണമെന്നാണ് എനിക്കു സഭയോട് അഭ്യർത്ഥിക്കുവാനുള്ളതു്. ഇപ്പോൾ തന്നെ നമ്മുടെ രാജ്യത്തുള്ളപോലെയുള്ള ഒരു സമുദായ മൈത്രി മറ്റൊരു രാജ്യത്തും ഇല്ല എന്നു ഞാൻ വീണ്ടും പറയുന്നു. അതു സെക്രട്ടേറിയേറ്റുകൂടിയാണ് നാം ഇവിടെ പെരുമാറിയതുന്നതു്. അതുകൊണ്ടു് ആർ ആരെ പ്രതിനിധീകരിച്ചാലും തരക്കേടില്ല.

ഇപ്പോൾ കഴിഞ്ഞ ആഴ്ച മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സിലെ പ്രതിമ അനാച്ഛാദനം ചെയ്ത അവസരത്തിൽ ഡാക്ടർ സി. ആർ. റെഡ്ഡി അവർകൾ പറഞ്ഞതു് കൊച്ചിരാജ്യം ഒരു "അത്ഭുത സ്റ്റേറ്" (Miracle State) ആണെന്നാണ്. അങ്ങിനെയുള്ള നമ്മുടെ രാജ്യത്തെ കൂടുതൽ അത്ഭുതകരമായ ഒരു സ്റ്റേറാക്കുന്നതിനും അവശസമുദായങ്ങളേയും, അവണ്ണസമുദായങ്ങളേയും ന്യൂനപക്ഷ സമുദായങ്ങളേയും ന്യൂനപക്ഷ പ്രബലസമുദായങ്ങളേയും കൂടുതൽ സന്തോഷിപ്പിക്കുന്നതിനും ഈ പ്രമേയം സ്വീകരിക്കുന്നതുകൊണ്ടു് സാധിക്കുമെന്നുമാണ് എന്റെ അഭിപ്രായം.

The House rose for lunch at 1 p.m. and reassembled at 2-30 p.m. with the Deputy President in the Chair.

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* This is one of the most important resolutions ever tabled for discussion before this Legislative Council. I must confess that it is with a sense of diffidence that one rises to speak on such a resolution the subject matter of which has taxed the brains of most of the political leaders of India and which has still been left without a proper solution. One certainly shall not be surprised at the variety of view, conflicting interests and heated discussion which this resolution has seen so far. We are concerned with the resolution as well as the amendment moved by Mr. Mathai. So far as the amendment is concerned, I do not think that there will be any difference of opinion among the members of this Legislative Council as to the desirability of doing away with separate electorates so as to blend ourselves into a common goal for the attainment of our common aspirations by fighting from the same platform. It has been admitted by people all over India that the best system of election would be a system where we will be in a position to forget communal differences. Even the Simon Commission Report which probably is supposed to be of an anti-national character and which, in that sense, ought to respect separate electorate system, condemns the system of separate electorates. I do not therefore, for a moment think that one could possibly raise any

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objection to the amendment suggested by Mr. Mathai. But, Sir, one is led to suspect that people of my hon'ble friend's type are born far in advance of the time. It sometimes so happens that Socrateses are born when the world is not prepared to accept them. It sometimes happens also that Jesus Christs are born when the world is not prepared to accept them. I am only sorry that Mr. Mathai, a lotus flower, with the fragrance of a lotus flower is born.....

Mr. V. J. Mathai *(Planters):* The question of my nativity and my birth are not to be discussed here.

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* I respectfully receive the interruption. In fact I was waiting for an opportunity for an interruption. This House has several times witnessed from the hon'ble member interruptions and reflections of a character which no respectable member could with any grace have made before this House. My hon'ble friend has been appropriating several chances to ventilate personal reflections in a manner not very becoming of a member of this House *(Hear, hear)*.

Mr. V. J. Mathai *(Planters):* Again on a point of order. The subject of discussion is not my interruption. He is irrelevantly speaking.

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* We have been with some sense of propriety, endurance and self-respect on our part suffering some of the aspersions which the hon'be member has been casting. I do not think it is becoming on the part of a member to request the Chair, as my friend has done, to supply him with a stick so that he may beat the members, than which I can expect no method more unparliamentary. My friend has been taking it as a pride on his part to withdraw the aspersions and to repeat the same. I thank you, Sir, for the interruption and the occasion you have given me to express my utter resentment to the practice which the hon'ble member has been indulging in this House. *(Hear, hear)*.

To resume the trend of my speech, I am only sorry that my friend Mr. Mathai, with the high ideals preached by him, a lotus flower with its sweet fragrance, is born in a bed of fire than in a pool of water. The real question is whether practical expediency and practical wisdom in politics will permit the introduction of these high ideals at a time when we are not prepared for it, when the country is not ripe for it. Not that we have any quarrel for nationalism. We do not for a moment want a quarrel between community and community, but we say it is not so ripe. Only, our national atmosphere has not reached such a stage of communal harmony that we can

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afford to accept those ideals unconditionally and without reservation at this time. I think I cannot quote a better authority on this than Pandit Motilal Nehru whose report on the subject of communal electorates has been regarded as classical and attracted the attention of Indians for a long time. Referring to this ideal preached by my hon'ble friend, he says "To say from the larger view-point of nationalism that no 'communal' provinces should be created is, in a way, equivalent to saying from the still wider international view-point that there should be no separate nations. Both these statements have a measure of truth in them. But the staunchest internationalist recognises that without the fullest national autonomy it is extraordinarily difficult to create the international state. So also without the fullest cultural autonomy, and communalism in its better aspect is culture, it will be difficult to create a harmonious nation." I think therefore, Sir, that I am only echoing the sentiment expressed by one of the greatest nationalist leaders, India has ever produced in ventilating my views before this House that we are not sufficiently ripe to accept the ideal suggested by the amendment standing before the House?

Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri):* What is the year of the report?

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* 1928. The ideal has not much changed also.

Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri):* There are some people who may not have changes.

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* Now, Sir, the question is, while aspiring for that ideal and while we confess our inability to work out that ideal at this stage, what is the best method of effecting a *via media* for this purpose? Several suggestions have been made and several of these suggestions have been the subject matter of consideration in several franchise committees throughout the whole of India. I must admit, as pointed out by my hon'ble friend Mr. Ayyappan, that a method of reservation of seats as followed in Cranganur whereby the other communities get a right in electing a candidate of a certain community which has got its natural disadvantages would be better. In the system of reservation of seats one of the difficulties which confront the communities which are represented by that system is that the member elected for a minority community may not get any vote at all of that community and still may be elected by the voters of other communities. It is inconsistent with the principle of reservation with safe-guards and with the principle of thinking that those members will represent the interests of the communities

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for which those seats are reserved. Referring to this system again the Nehru Committee Report very emphatically places on record its protest. I would crave the indulgence of the House to read a few lines of that report on the system which is in parallel with the system obtaining in Cranganur. "When the counting of the votes has been completed, the Returning Officer shall forthwith declare the candidate or candidates as the case may be, to whom the largest number of votes has been given, to be elected. Provided that if one or more seats are reserved the Returning Officer shall first declare to be elected the non-Brahmin candidate or candidates, as the case may be, to whom the largest number of votes has been given ..... Thus in the case of non-Brahmins the choice of the electorate is wholly set aside even though a majority of their own community voted against them. The question is whom would these two non-Brahmins represent. It is clear that they do not represent the majority of the electorate nor possibly even a majority of non-Brahmins. They have come in by an artificial rule based on no principle whatever etc. etc."

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Diwan Peishkar):* What is the solution for it?

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* I will come to it.

In the system that has been recommended by our Franchise Committee for Muslims a situation might arise whereby a member of that community who is elected may not hold a confidence either of the members of the community or other communities. He may be the last in the roll so that he has not the confidence of the general electorate and at the same time loses the confidence of the community, so that principle is inconsistent. It does not serve the purpose either of nationalism or of communalism, and we have to do away with it. Now the question is, how is it possible to effect a *via media* between the two, between the separate electorate and between the unconditional reservation, as is suggested by those who hold a view in favour of it. I would like in this connection to refer to an important factor which is relevant to the issue. The separate electorate system had its origin in British India ever since the Minto-Morely Reforms and at that time the Musalmans of British India, as the Ezhuvas of Cochin State formerly, were having a double voting right. This policy of giving them a double voting right was adopted till the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms at which time it was suggested that this right of double voting ought not to continue. This matter has been placed before a committee wherein both the Congress and the Muslim League were represented, the conclusions of the committee are embodied in the Lucknow Pact among

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which you will find an understanding whereby the Musalmans are given separate electorates without the right of voting in other constituencies. One of the important factors to be noted in that recommendation is this, *viz.*, that while the Muslims have been denied the right of voting in the general constituencies, the constitution recommended by them has provided certain safeguards against any legislation affecting the Muslims and other minority communities. I will read that clause which has been recommended by them. "The proposal is that 'no Bill, nor any clause thereof, nor a resolution introduced by a non-official affecting one or the other community (which question is to be determined by the members of that community in the Legislative Council concerned) shall be proceeded with if three-fourths of the members of that community in the particular council, Imperial or Provincial, oppose the Bill or any clause thereof or the resolution." I am quoting this recommendation of the Lucknow Pact simply for the sake of showing that there are safeguards provided for minority communities in view of the fact that they have no right in sending candidates from other constituencies.

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* We are following that here.

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* I am only pointing out this to show that our constitution does not contain any such safeguards for the protection of those communities which could not be represented by special reasons effectively in the Legislative Council.

Now, the resolution which has been commended to this House aims at the abolition of the defects of communal electorates and suggesting a solution whereby those defects could be remedied. I for one have to make it clear that while I accept the principle of the resolution that a reservation of seats with sufficient safeguards for the minority communities has to be allowed, I do not think, as has been pointed out by my friend Mr. Ayyappan, that the formula embodied in this resolution will satisfy the purpose in view. I will point out some of the defects of that formula which will make the defects patent and which will invite our attention to some other factors which I will place before this House later on. The resolution now before the House is "The Council recommends to Government that the present system of special communal electorates should be abolished and a system of reservation of seats to those communities in the general constituencies should be substituted: Provided that a candidate who secures more than half the votes of his community shall be declared elected. When there is no such candidate having the requisite number of votes from a community, that candidate from the community who secures the maximum number of votes, the votes

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of all the voters in the general constituency in favour of a candidate being taken together, shall be declared elected."

With regard to the first portion, that candidate who gets more than 50 per cent of the votes has to be elected. So long as two candidates alone are fighting from the same community, one is sure to get 51 per cent and they need not make any approach to any other voter. All the defects of separate electorates are maintained in tact in the first part of the resolution.

Now coming to the latter part of the resolution, it goes against the very safeguards for which the minority communities stand. What is Mr. Ayyappan's objection to an unconditional reservation? He says that unless you provide sufficient safeguards whereby they get an assurance that these people are holding the confidence of other communities also for whom they are reserved they do not want unconditional reservation of seats. So that the very purpose for which this resolution is introduced is to see that only such candidates who hold the confidence of the community besides their capacity to win votes from other communities are returned.

Now suppose there are three candidates. According to the latter part of the resolution, if any of the candidate fails to get 50 per cent of the votes, the whole principle is defeated. There may be a man who gets 75 per cent of the votes of the Hindus. He need not get even 10 per cent of the community's votes. Taking the resolution part by part, the first part defeats the second part.

Mr. A. V. Moothedan *(Chalakkudi):* There may be cases of candidates getting 60 per cent of the community's votes. There is that possibility also.

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* My friend will be convinced as I proceed further. I am suggesting these things just to show that this provision of the resolution fails to achieve the object for which it is intended. What is the solution? I do not think that the first portion will satisfy the majority communities. I do not think that the second will satisfy minority communities. I do not think that the famous Muhammad Ali's formula is as stated by my hon'ble friend Mr. Ibrahim. That formula only says that candidate elected by the system of reservation of seats should get at least a certain proportion of the votes. That is the formula.

Mr. K. M. Ibrahim *(Cranganur):* Your position is incorrect. You say this is the very principle adopted. If two candidates are standing they have to depend upon the votes of the other communities also.

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Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* The point is, between separate electorates on the one side are you trying to effect a system whereby you will get reservation with safeguards doing away with the difficulties of separate electorates?

Mr. K. M. Ibrahim *(Cranganur):* Does this resolution say that one candidate should not get the votes of the other communities ?

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* Suppose there are three candidates instead of two. It may be that the third candidate is deliberately put by the majority community to defeat this community, and the effect of putting that third candidate is to deter your own interest and to see that election is guided by the general vote. So that it must be our earnest endeavour to provide for such contingencies and to work out a formula whereby the reservation of seats with safeguards for the communities be done away with.

Mr. A. V. Moothedan *(Chalakkudi):* What is the formula ?

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* I must frankly confess that I for one cannot take up the responsibility for the solution of a problem which has been the subject matter of important communities so long and which has not still been effectively solved by them. Nor do I for a moment think that I am the proper person to solve it by my own head.

While I suggest that our final aim should be the abolition of all separate electorates, this prayer for reservation of seats is a step which we have necessarily to choose between the system of separate electorates and the joint electorates. It is a transitional stage that we are suggesting. It should be the earnest endeavour of this House to see that minority communities are given representation and that several safeguards should be provided. I would therefore suggest, Sir, that the resolution, as it stands, bristles with several difficulties and while we are anxious to accept the principle of the resolution by providing for a system of reservation with sufficient safeguards, and while we think that the solution cannot be effectively had by this resolution, I would suggest that having regard to the importance of this resolution, this House may be pleased to adjourn the discussion of this resolution to the next session so that the members of this Council represented by several parties may put their heads together and see whether there is any possibility of amending the resolution in such a manner as to suit the condition. I am making this proposal with a view to show the earnestness of this House not to displease the majority communities and also not to endanger the minority communities.

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Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri):* This resolution cannot be supported. Another resolution can be tabled.

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* There have been instances in this House when discussions of Bills and resolutions of great importance to the members of this House have been so adjourned.

Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri):* A resolution which has to be recast altogether has never been in this House.

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* I am not stating whether it has to be recast altogether. I am not stating whether it should be thrown out. I am suggesting a course which will enable us to effectively solve this problem, if possible by amendment by putting our heads together. If the House is pleased to accept it, I think it will be a great service to the country especially since the next elections are fast approaching. I earnestly request the House to accept my suggestion to enable us to find a proper solution.

Mr. K. M. Ibrahim *(Cranganur):* The hon'ble member assumes authority on the Muhamad Ali formula, though, evidently he has not understood it. He imagines that there is danger in this system of reservation when two candidates alone of the particular community stand for election. The apprehension is that the candidates for the reserved seat in such cases can ignore the voters of the sister-communities entirely. Obviously, the hon'ble member has not noted the fact that there is invariably the probability of the candidates securing an equal number of votes from their community. This is the general scheme of the Muhamad Ali formula. I shall only be glad if the hon'ble member enlightens the House on the authority for his finding that my interpretation of the formula is wrong.

***Dr. A. R. Menon** *(Minister for Rural Development):* Sir, I speak in my capacity as a member of this House and not on behalf of the Government. I want my friends to understand that I am not animated by any hostile feeling, and that I approach this subject with an open mind, for the Hon'ble Member Mr. Ayyappan will bear witness to my statement at the time when this question was being discussed by the Franchise Committee. I, as a witness, gave evidence before the Committee that reservation should be the proper thing and not separate electorate. I remember very well Mr. Ayyappan making an observation pregnant with meaning and significance, an observation with which I agreed to a great extent, *viz.*, that if this method is adopted, the net result will be that while the Ezhuvas will

* Speech not corrected by the hon'ble member.

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find their way to get into the Council, the type of Ezhuva who comes there may not be of the type that the Ezhuvas themselves want to be represented. In other words, the choice will go out of the hands of the community and will go into the hands of other communities. Therefore it is injurious to the interests of the community concerned. Both of us are right. The only thing is, we view this matter from two different angles. When he expressed this view, I immediately stopped any further presentation of the aspect that I wanted to place before the Committee. What is the meaning of a separate electorate with reservation of seats? What does it indicate? Do you notice the separate electorate reserved constituency in any other democratic country in the world? These features are not noticed in any legislature in any part of the world which run the Government through the agency of popular representatives. We notice this only in these countries and it is our business to find out why these innovations were introduced specially in our country. The reason is that in spite of our talk that we are nearly 400 millions living in broad acres between the high mountians and the sea, we do not constitute a nation in the true sense of the word. So much so each community and each section somehow or other does not believe in the impartiality, in the justice, and in the patriotic spirit of the various component parts that constitute the nation. Therefore in order to allay the misgivings and the fears, that a majority community may oppress the minority, these various methods, these various subterfuges have been introduced in the constitution of the various Governments that constitute the Indian Empire. There is difference in the method adopted, but the underlying principle of the notice governing their action is one and the same. Once we understand that, we will be appreciating the various arguments advanced by the supporters of this resolution and those who find themselves compelled for reasons which I shall presently enumerate to oppose this measure. What is reservation? What are objections to reservation? What are its advantages? The advantage of joint electorate with reservation is that all the members of a constituency are given the opportunity to record their votes, and even though the majority happens to belong to one community or other, there is the operation of the process of reservation which will enable the minority community to come into the Council. The great advantage is that all the electors have taken part in the election and the member may think that he represents a geographical unit, a territorial unit, and not a separate section of the community. But, at the same time by means of reservation, the great fear that the majority community may absorb or appropriate all the seats, is done away with. On the other hand, if it is separate electorate, separate constituency, it also

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has got its advantage. One advantage, as Mr. Ayyapan stated, is that the community concerned would be in a position to send a person in whom they have absolute confidence, because he is elected by the community and he comes here with the majority vote of that community and he is the accredited, unquestioned representative of that community. I have no quarrel with that proposition. I am only pointing out another defect. The great defect, the fundamental defect of this arrangement is that each community shows a tendency to fight for its interests and the interests of that community alone. Still more dangerous is that in a discussion, however unreasonable it may be, the communal representation, some how or other, induces to take the side of the community and also for want of that corrective which would be supplied by a common electorate, we sometimes take extreme views on behalf of one community or other which we represent. A joint electorate will always hold the member in fear of the consequences and he will modify, in spite of his communal tendency, his method of presentation of a case and also his advocacy of a cause. The result is that in spite of our extreme views, in spite of vagaries, in spite of our tendency to go to the extreme, we are correctly controlled by those considerations, and in course of time we become men of learned views and modern ideals. The net result is that a Council consisting of members who consider the various view-points, who look at a question from different angles of vision, and by discussion and arguments, some how or other mould a measure in such a way that it will cause the least displeasure to some though not the greatest benefit to the few. That is its one advantage. I fully realise that this demand for a reservation is a clear indication of the want of confidence amongst the communities. So long as the communities which are benefitted by this special constituencies do not unanimously agree to surrender we are not going to press for a change.

I fully understand further and appreciate the amendment moved by Mr. Mathai. The only reason why we could not wholeheartedly support that amendment is, that unless the Ezhuvas and Latin Christians themselves are in favour of such a change, we do not think we are justified in lending our votes or any support to him. Let it be clearly understood that I am not against the amendment on the point of merit, but on principle. Mr. Devassy enunciated that when a minority interest comes before the Council, unless you get the majority of the minority, you shall not bring into operation any measure specially affecting that community. I am happy to note that we have established such a convention in this House when there is no such rule, and in all legislations affecting the minority communities, the opinion of the majority of such community was the

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guidance for the rest of the House. I hope the House will bear witness to this statement. Innumerable measures have been passed in this Council and this principle has been adopted in all such instances. As I said, it is only in this sense that we find ourselves unable to support that view.

In British Malabar, conditions are almost similar to that obtaining in Cochin and the Ezhuva community there is not given reservation of seats. Are you going to state that the Ezhuva community of the State, viewed from any point, is inferior to that in Malabar?

Mr. K. Ayyappan *(Ezhuvas-Kanayannur):* In the Madras Presidency, the Ezhuva community is a minority, and it is very insignificant there. The Ezhuva community in Cochin is just like the Muslims in British India.

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* The moral that I wanted to draw is this. In the British Constitution, where the British Government think that a certain community as a minority is not in a position to get into the Council by its own strength, then reservation is provided for that community.

Mr. K. Ayyappan *(Ezhuvas-Kanayannur):* Take the case of the Muslims and Indian Christians in British India. They are given reservation of seats.

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* I am not drawing any analogy. I am only saying that the Ezhuvas of Cochin State are as advanced and as progressive in the intellectual, moral, material and educational spheres as the Ezhuvas of Malabar.

Mr. K. Ayyappan *(Ezhuvas-Kanayannur):* Numerically they are a very insignificant minority there.

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* In Malabar they are not insignificant.

Mr. K. Ayyappan *(Ezhuvas-Kanayannur):* If it is a Malabar Province then these Ezhuvas would get reservation.

Mr. L. M. Pylee *(Latin Christians-Ernakulam):* Which is the Legislative Council for Malabar.

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* A Professor of History does not know such things!

Mr. L. M. Pylee *(Latin Christians-Ernakulam):* It is not because I am ignorant of that, but because I am surprised to hear the statement which leads one to think that there is a separate legislature for Malabar. I am quite aware of it and nobody except

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the Hon'ble Minister would say that I am ignorant of this information.

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* I am very much obliged for this extra teaching which is not paid for and it is very good and generous of a professor in spite of his various onerous duties to find time to teach ignorants like myself. I am very much obliged for the great kindness and generosity that prompted the schoolmaster to correct the mistake.

Reverting again to my point, I ask, what is reservation ? As I explained, the community concerned must somehow or other be enabled to get into the Council. I have no complaint with any particular community and that fact has been very well discussed. What I want to draw is this. What does it indicate ? It indicates want of that feeling that the other communities will be impartial. You do not believe in the fairness, in the impartiality and in the public spirit of other communities, and you think that they will bring an Ezhuva unacceptable to the community. If that is granted, can I not with equal justice say that even a minority of Ezhuva votes will make a man win or lose? Is it not possible, since they take no interest whatsoever in the affairs of other communities, that they join together and put all their influence in favour of one candidate thereby defeating our purpose? You have no trust and belief in our impartiality. There is no question of a single community. There are the Christians, the Nayars and other communities to give votes for a candidate. The Ezhuvas also join together. You think by the manipulation you have, you can be the umpires and in the quarrel ensuing, you can, in the umpire business, knock off the whole. By the standard of education, by the standard of culture, by the standard of public spirit and by the standard of public knowledge, you cannot say that the Roman Catholics and the caste Hindus of the State are much below any other.

Mr. K. Ayyappan *(Ezhuvas-Kanayannur):* There are Christians and Nayars who can vote. We can only help them. We cannot act otherwise.

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* There is another aspect. The object of this manipulation by the Government, and that is a very important point, is to avoid complaints and to avoid communalism in the State. That was the motive of the Government. The motive of this manipulation is to avoid as far as possible communal tangle.

Mr. M. Sivarama Menon *(Ernakulam):* That was the opinion of the Committee. Mr. Ayyappan was in the Committee.

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Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* That is the only justification for the Committee to bring a reform like this. They want proper representation and at the same time to avoid as far as possible communal tangle and communal trouble. Now by allowing you to enter into this thing, you will be in a position to create communal trouble. In a constituency, if a majority of Christian votes are given or a majority of Hindu votes are given, this minority of Christians can be made a majority or minority of Hindus can be made a majority. By playing one with the other you will be in a position to create communal trouble among us. Therefore we say, come and share all the troubles and worries of election and take your share. Since you do not trust in our impartiality and fairness of justice, we fail to see why we should trust in your impartiality.

Another difficulty by this separate representation is that if people get something without much trouble, they never appreciate it. To have a proper appreciation, there must be trouble to achieve it. A piece of diamond is just like a piece of charcoal, but the value of diamond has gone up since it is not easily obtained. If you can pick up diamonds from the street, no man will put it on his finger. It is because of the difficulty and the scarcity of getting it that you are prompted to value it. Now, after three years, people give a sheet of paper and then automatically come to the Council. They think it is a right. It is only when you are put through elections that you will find the trouble. You have seen the trouble you had even in helping me. When you yourselves experience similar troubles every three years, you will appreciate the value of a seat in this Council.

Mr. K. Ayyappan *(Ezhuvas-Kanayannur):* Mr. Krishnankutty experienced last time.

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* But not to the extent we are experiencing, simply for the sake of getting a number of votes from desirable and undesirable people. The number of years spent in canvassing and getting votes will constitute a major portion of our life.

Mr. K. Ayyappan *(Ezhuvas-Kanayannur):* Now your position is, if Ezhuvas and Latin Christians join in voting in the general electorate, you are troubled. Otherwise there is no trouble. If only we join the general election, then only you have got difficulty.

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* I can concede the other position that we may be choosing a wrong candidate, enhancing the difficulty of the election. But is there not the possibility that the Ezhuvas are selecting a bad candidate enhancing the difficulty?

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Mr. K. Ayyappan *(Ezhuvas-Kanayannur):* You oppose it on the principle that you are against reservation with any safeguard.

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* Joint electorate without reservation or anything. No reservation, no safeguard. Why not give me some safeguards? I do not belong to a majority community. I belong to a minority community.

*മിസ്റ്റർ ടി. കെ. നായർ: ഇതിലുള്ള ഭയം ഇതാണു. ഏതു എലക്ഷനുമുമ്പു പ്രൈമറികളിലും ഒരു കാര്യം തീർച്ചയാക്കിയാൽ കൊള്ളാമെന്നുണ്ട്". ഇപ്പോൾ ഇതു തള്ളിയാലും ഇല്ലെങ്കിലും വരുന്ന പ്രൈമറിൽ ആലോചനയ്ക്കു വരുമെന്നു തോന്നുന്നില്ല. പിന്നെ ഒടുക്കത്തെ പ്രൈമറിൽ വരികയാണെങ്കിലേ നിവൃത്തിയുള്ളൂ. ഒരുപക്ഷേ അതാദ്യം ബാലറ്റെടുക്കുമ്പോൾ വരാം. അതുകൊണ്ടു് ഇതു് നീട്ടിവെയ്ക്കുന്നതു് ഫലപ്രദമാകാതെ നിവൃത്തിയുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ മുന്നു പാർട്ടിക്കാരുംകൂടി പ്രത്യേകം ഒരു അമെൻഡ്മെൻറു കൊണ്ടുവരാൻ നോക്കണം. ആദ്യത്തെ ഭാഗത്തിനു് അമെൻഡ്മെൻറില്ല. ഒടുവിലത്തെ ഭാഗത്തിനു മെൻഡ്മെൻറുണ്ടു". അതെല്ലാംകൂടി ആലോചിച്ചു് എഴുതിയെയ്യാൻ സാധിക്കുമെങ്കിൽ അങ്ങിനെ ചെയ്താൽ കൊള്ളാം എങ്കിലെയെങ്കിലും അടുത്ത എലക്ഷനു മുമ്പായി ഇതു് നടപ്പിൽ വരുത്തുവാൻ സാധിക്കുമോ എന്നാണു് നോക്കേണ്ടതു്.

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* Why not modify the resolution?

മിസ്റ്റർ ടി. കെ. നായർ: അതാണു് മുന്നു പാർട്ടി യോഗംകൂടി ആലോചിച്ചു് തീർച്ചയാക്കാൻ കുറച്ചു സമയം വേണമെന്നു പറഞ്ഞതു്.

Mr. T. V. Subramania Ayyar *(Nemmara):* Some of us will do it.

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* We are either for reservation or joint electorate.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. അയ്യപ്പൻ: ഇതു് വരുന്ന സമ്മേളനത്തിലും തള്ളിക്കളയണമെങ്കിൽ തള്ളിക്കളയാം. നമ്മൾക്കിപ്പോൾതന്നെ ഒരു തീരുമാനം ചെയ്യരുതെന്നു?

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* We are not going to change. We are going to follow the British System in this matter. We are willing to go up to that. The idea of all these alterations is to have communal perpetuation.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. അയ്യപ്പൻ: തക്കം പോരല്ല, നിങ്ങളുടെ അഭിപ്രായം അപ്പോഴും മാറണമെന്നില്ല. നിങ്ങളുടെ അഭിപ്രായം മാറ്റാനായി ശ്രമം ചെയ്യുന്നതിനു് ഞങ്ങൾക്കു കുറെ സമയം വേണമെന്നേയുള്ളൂ.

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* I say what is the fixed principle, what is the object of the various methods

*Speech not corrected by the hon'ble member.

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that have been adopted. What is your ulterior aim in making any change? In course of time, we may be in a position to do away with communal representation and make it a common electorate. That is the object in course of time. Now which is the method that would bring the communities together except the method that I suggested where no community has a position of vantage. If you do not trust us why not follow your own principle.

As regards Muslims there is a reservation of seats. They went to the Government and said "all right, we are willing to have common electorate and reservation of seats". Common electorate was given and reservation of seat also was given.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. അയ്യപ്പൻ: അതല്ല ഇപ്പോഴാവശ്യപ്പെട്ടതു്. നമ്മൾ ഇപ്പോൾ ഇവിടെ ഇതു് ഡിസ്ക്കസ്സ് ചെയ്യുന്നതിലും എളുപ്പം ഫൈസിനു്പാത്തു് മുന്നോ പാട്ടിക്കാരുംകൂടി യോജിച്ചു് ഒരു ശരിയായ അഭിപ്രായം ഉണ്ടാക്കാൻ ശ്രമിക്കയല്ലെ നല്ലതെന്നാണു്.

Dr. A. R. Menon *(Minister for Rural Development):* We will postpone it for tomorrow. I have given the reason for the attitude we have adopted. While we don't want to take advantage of the communities that enjoy this separate constituency and separate representation, we are very anxious to see that they do not come and meddle with us and give us unnecessary trouble. It is only for our self-protection. When we are talking of communities it is necessary to say like that. On the other hand, if this principle is adopted, let us reserve seats for all communities. Caste Hindus 6 or seven seats, Roman Catholics 5 or 6 seats and so on. If we think that we have reached only that stage, we may adopt that. You cannot have the cake and eat it. Either have the one or the other. For these reasons, I oppose this resolution.

Mr. T. V. Subramania Ayyar *(Nemmara):* Mr. President Sir, I confess that this resolution is one which has evoked so much of discussion in this House. I am aware of the magnitude of the problem that underlies this resolution. Nobody is surprised at the difference in views expressed with regard to this resolution. I doubt whether there is anybody in this land who will question the wisdom of the proposition, that the ideal state of affairs is one of general constituencies in every corner of the land; but rightly or wrongly owing to several considerations and causes for which none of us are responsible, and may be due to the system that has bean introduced here, a certain method of election is adopted, in regard to the representation of different communities in the land, which, when one can agree with the proposition is not quite national has been justified on the ground of expediency. I am one with the Hon'ble Minister and

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several other speakers that the ideal state of affairs is one in which such reservation and disputes between communities must vanish. While we are all striving to achieve the ideal state of affairs, owing to a variety of causes it has become necessary to round off the corners and to make concessions in order to adjust matters in such a fashion that peace and harmony and communal considerations will be safeguarded. The only question is, how is it possible? I am agreeable to the view that if it is not possible to find an agreed formula for our purpose, then it is better that the present system itself continues. But when once the communities who claim for separate electorates themselves come forward in this House and say that the prevalent and predominant opinion among the members of their own communities is that they must be given an effective voice in sending the representatives to the Council it is a welcome sign and it has to be scrutinised in all its aspects. I am aware, Sir, that in a place like Cochin, inhabited by several communities, there is great necessity for extreme caution. The communities, which have now separate electorates are the Ezhuvas and the Latin Christians. Their accredited representatives in this Council assure us and we have no reason to doubt nor will we be justified in doing so—and we have every reason to accept it—that the predominant view of the community is that every one should participate in the elections along with the candidates in general constituencies. I can quite agree with that view.

Ezhuva community forms a substantial portion of our State. The Latin Christians also form an important community. They express the wish that they do not wish to be segregated. But, when they have been accustomed to the communal electorates so far, they feel that their interests can only be safeguarded by the system of reservation. They want not only that the seats now reserved for them should be kept in tact but further they must have an effective voice in the selection of other candidates from other communities and also to stand in other constituencies. I confess it looks like a hard bargain. But then owing to causes for which they are not responsible the representatives of the Ezhuva community have been feeling rightly or wrongly that the behaviour of the other castes towards them has not been what was expected of the enlightened portion of the Hindu community. And with this feeling in them, it may be—I do not justify the attitude—that they feel they cannot put all their trust in the Savarna caste people and offer a blank cheque to them. So also the Latin Christian community. They cannot give a blank cheque to the other communities in the State and they must insist on a certain amount of reservation. I can to a certain extent understand that position also. But the whole difficulty arises when they

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insist that without disturbing the present seats they must also be given an effective voice in the selection of other candidates.

Mr. K. Ayyappan *(Ezhuvas-Kanayannur):* We do not say that. Reservation means mutual influence. That is all.

Mr. T. V. Subramania Ayyar *(Nemmara):* Reservation with safeguards. When an election comes they say that the number of seats reserved for them from that particular community must come to the Council. Not only that they want also to vote in the general election. Sometimes the influence of other communities will be such that the candidate who has not got the confidence of the community may come in, by the influence of the members of the other communities. That is the objection. The answer seems to be that the caste Hindu who does not command the confidence of Hindus or a Christian who does not commad the confidence of the Christians may come in to the detriment of their own communities. The same sympathy with which you view this matter will have to be extended to the case of other communities also. So the question is how to effect a compromise. But some sort of reservation of seats with a certain amount of safeguarding will be necessary as a measure of political expediency. While it is conceded that the ideal is joint electorates with simple reservation, it may be argued and with some force also that the principle enunciated in this resolution with proper modifications may be considered as a step towards the attainment of that ideal. But now having regard to the magnitude of the problems before us, and owing to the diversity of views expressed from all sides of the House, I suggest to the Hon'ble Leader of the Cochin Congress Party and also to the Leader of the State Congress Party that we may be able to put our heads together and see whether this question cannot be solved amicably and since the problem is so peculiar that it cannot be done all at once, I suggest that the consideration of this resolution may be adjourned to the Meenam meeting of the Council without wasting more of the time of this Council. With your leave, I move under S. O. 26 that the consideration of this resolution may be adjourned or postponed till the next meeting.

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* I second it.

Mr. T. V. Subramania Ayyar *(Nemmara):* And it may be also the first item in the Agenda.

Mr. C. R. Iyyunni *(Trichur-South)* : I oppose the motion.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Diwan Peishkar):* The effect of this will be business will be considered to be disposed of. I am only pointing it out to you.

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Mr T. V. Subramania Ayyar *(Nemmara):* No. S. O. 26 reads thus: "A motion that any sitting or business be adjourned or postponed or that the Council pass to the business next in order in the statement of business, may be moved at any time and without previous notice as a distinct question, but not so as to interrupt a speech. If the motion is carried, the sitting or business shall be adjourned or postponed accordingly or if the motion carried be that the Council pass to the business next in order in the statement of business, the business then under discussion shall be considered to be disposed of....."

So I think I am right.

The motion for adjournment of discussion on the resolution was put and lost.

Mr. C. R. Iyyunni *(Trichur-South):* Mr. President, Sir, regarding this matter we will look into the various aspects of the resolution itself. It says, in the first place, that the special communal electorates should be abolished and in the second place, there must be reservation of seats to those communities whose special electorates have been abolished. That means the two communities, the Latin Christian community and the Ezhuva community alone should have reservation. Now, as the resolution stands, certainly no other community can enjoy the privilege of reservation of seats. The three main communities in the State are (1) the Caste Hindus, (2) the Latin Christian which includes the Catholics and (3) the Ezhuvas. This resolution, I am sorry to state, have been moved by a member, who, in my opinion, has not very much cared to the interests of the community to which he belongs.

Mr. A. V. Moothedan *(Chalakkudi):* I protest against that statement with all my strength.

Mr. C. R. Iyyunni *(Trichur-South):* The House will kindly note that there are 25 general constituencies and they have reserved 13 Nayars, 2 Brahmins 2 Nambudiries, 5 Romo Syrians, two non-Catholics including the Women's seat and one Jew. The Roman Catholics have been able to get only 5 seats. The population of the Christians inclusive of all Christians other than Catholics is three lakhs thirty-three thousand. Indian Christians, I mean. That will be much more than 25 per cent of the whole population. With regard to the Romo Syrians it is one lakh and eighty-three thousand and they got only five seats.

•മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. ഏ സ്സ്". പണിക്കർ: 3,33,000 ഏന്ന പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുള്ളതിൽ കത്തോലിക്കർ മാത്രമല്ല, എല്ലാ ക്രസ്ത്യാനികളുംപെടും.

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Mr. C. R. Iyyunni *(Trichur-South):* I don't know whether my friend understands what I say. I mean Indian Christians number three lakhs and thirty-three thousand which includes Romo Syrians, Latinites, Jacobites and other Christians. What I say is, the Romo Syrians which number about one lakh and 83 thousand have got only 5 seats in spite of the fact that they have got status in life, they are fairly educated, they have got enough culture and they are fairly rich and they have got these seats with considerable difficulty. What I say is that when compared with other communities which have got special electorates the condition of the Romo Syrian is very unsatisfactory. Now this resolution helps the two communities which have got this advantage, more than any other. Which are these communities? Ezhuvas and Latin Christians. There is some difference with regard to the Muslims. It is very interesting to me. This plea is now put by a Romo Syrian. There was a time when the Ezhuvas had only 2 seats reserved for them. After the committee has sat the number has been increased to 5. 3 more additional seats have been given to them and as a result of it, they said "we have no objection if the votes we used to exercise in the general constituencies are taken away from them. It is a compromise, so that their seats were increased to 5 and their right to vote in the general constituencies has been taken away. Now what is their complaint after getting 5 seats? Now what they say is, we have no hand so far as the election in the general constituencies are concerned. Members of other Communities do not care for us. That should not be. What they want is that they must elect only that person in whom they have con dence. So far as their communities are concerned. In that case the question may be asked, why should they unnecessarily come and intefere with the election of the members of other communities? Mr. Panicker was pleading for communal amity. If a kind of communal amity and communal harmony is to prevail what is wanted is people with moderate views, not rabid Christians or rabid Ezhuvas or rabid Muhamadans or rabid Nayars. There is no use of saying we want communal harmony when we have persons of extreme communal views. It is not easy. An Ezhuva will at the bottom of his heart, whether he is of the moderate type or the extreme type be, an Ezhuva. So the interest of the community will not suffer even if persons with moderate views are returned to the Council and in addition there is considerable chance for harmony and amity in the council. Otherwise if extreme people are returned, the spirit of compromise which is essential for conduct of business will be unfortunately absent. What is really needed is the return of persons who have popular support and not communal support.

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മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. എസ്സ്. പണിക്കർ: എല്ലാ സമുദായങ്ങൾക്കും Numerical Strength പ്രകാരം കിട്ടിയാൽ മതി.

Mr. C. R. Iyyunni *(Trichur-South):* I perfectly understand it. The resolution does not say that. It reads thus: "the present system of special communal electorates should be abolished and a system of reservation of seates to those communities in the general constituencies should be substituted."

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* It is the possibility of bringing these things to a common understanding that your party had been opposing?

Mr. C. R. Iyyunni *(Trichur-South):* I am opposing the resolution as it is brought before the House.

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* What I suggest is, even if this resolution is passed certainly we have ample time to reconsider this matter. What is wanted is this resolution must be on the agenda of the next meeting.

Mr. C. R. Iyyunni *(Trichur-South):* What I beg to submit is that this contemplates only the case of the Ezhuvas and Latin Christians and no other communities. I have no complaint with regard to the Ezhuvas and Latin Xians themselves. That is not the point. Who are the persons who will be prejudicially affected if it is passed? What I say is it confines itself only to two communities and its scope can't be widend.

Mr. K. Ayyappan *(Ezhuvas-Kanayannur):* Are you opposed to reservation of seats?

Mr. C. R. Iyyunni *(Trichur-South):* I am in favour of reservation of seats more or less in proportion to the numerical strength of the community. I am not against it. That is not the point. This resolution does not contemplate it. That is the whole trouble. So what I suggest is that the resolution as it is here contains two main points, they are that the communal electorate should be abolished and instead a system of reservation of seats to those communities in the general constituencies should be substituted. These are the only two main points that have been brought in this resolution. So I beg to suggest that the resolution as it is brought, we certainly cannot support, and I openly oppose it.

Mr. L. M. Pylee *(Latin Christians-Ernakulam):* Mr. President Sir, It has been brought to the notice of the House that this resolution vitally affects two important communities, *viz.*, the Ezhuva community and the Latin Christian community. Sir, I happen to

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come from the Latin Christian community and that by a communal electoarte. At the very outset, I must make the position of my community clear. We belonged to the general electorate a few years ago, but owing to the numerous difficulties we felt in having a sufficient number of candidates in this House, a large section of the community demanded communal electorate and as a result of representations and the large volume of opinion presented before the Franchise Committee, special or communal electorates were given to us and thereby three members find a place today in this Council. With regard to the resolution, Sir, the position as I can understand in my community is not one of undivided opinion. There is a large section of opinion in the community which holds that it is in favour of communal electorate. It was the other day that the special electorate was introduced in the community and all the 40 parishes in the State are in favour of communal electorate with only one exception. There is therefore a very large section that holds the view that the conditions that prevailed a year and a half ago have not altered and, therefore, the system may be retained for some time more. But at the same time in fairness I must admit that there is a section of my community which holds the view that reservation of seats might be a good solution. Between these two positions the community is divided and I am not therefore able to say that the view of my community is unanimous. But, Sir, one thing is certain and it is that the community as a whole is opposed to joint electorate as such, joint electorate pure and simple. On this there is no difference of opinion in our community. We are against joint or general electorate. Therefore, I have to oppose that amendment brought forward by the Hon'ble Member for the Planters.

It is not my intention now to repeat the arguments in favour of joint electorate or against it. These arguments both for and against, have been repeated *ad nauseum* on the floor of this House as well as in assemblies of a higher character. But still I beg to point out that the members of this House are not unaware of the fact that while ideals have been proclaimed, it is difficult to apply those ideals to practical realities of life. After all, politics is not always logical. Politics is very often a compromise. Nowhere we can find a more severe condemnation of the communal electorate than in that splendid report, *viz.*, Montague Chelmsford Report. There, all the disadvantages have been ably put forth, notably the one that the system of communal electorate tends to sterotype the communities. All these disadvantages and difficulties have been explained there in a masterly way, more masterly than in the Nehru Report, which has been produced here a little while ago by an hon'ble member. Yet

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with all that, the Government of India Act of 1919 which came, into existence as a result of that report had to face practical realities, had to come down from the idealism proclaimed by Mr. Montague facing certain facts accepted the principle of communal electorate in British India. The times moved on and we had the Round Table Conferences. There again what happened? The ideal was proclaimed. Yet, in the Government of India Act of 1935 we find again the principle of separate or communal electorates retained. Sir, the fact is clear. From the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, from the North-west Frontiers to the boundaries of Bengal and Assam everybody appreciates joint electorate. Everybody appreciates the ideal. But large sections of people, perhaps the majority, in India think it is an ideal towards which we shall progress, but not attainable now. It has become a vexed question. I am of opinion that communal electorate, evil though it be, is a necessary evil. We have to face expediency. Politics being a compromise and not mere logic, we have to make compromises. Therefore, I cannot support the amendment to introduce mere joint electorates. I appreciate the ideal put forward by the mover of the amendment. I am also a believer in that principle. But when we take the diverse conditions and the peculiar circumstances that prevail not only in our State, but all over India, we have to concede to the principle of communal representation. I do not repeat arguments for and against the position. These had been put forward all over India and even in London and I do not want to waste the time of the House by a repetition of those arguments. I would have preferred a postponement of this issue as it was moved by an hon'ble member so that sufficient time may have been given to the public at large to discuss these matters and particularly in my community. It is not a small community. We count a lakh and 33 thousand souls and, therefore, it would have been better if it had been adjourned. Unfortunately that motion had been thrown out. I must therefore either support this resolution or oppose it. I take the choice, and I give my support to this resolution. The reason why I support it is that though in the first part of the resolution it abolishes the communal electorate, still I find it is practically preserving the separate electorate for the two communities concerned. The great defect about the special electorate is that it detaches the community from the other communities; it is creating a sort of water-tight compartment, the influence of the community is lost with reference to those communities who have got general electorate, while, therefore, the present resolution retains practically the separate electorate, we are at the same time linked with the several communities of the State. Therefore, I think that practically it preserves the communal electorates for

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us and at the same time we get connected with the other communities. I mentioned that the view of the community is divided in this matter, but I personally think that this is a proposition that can be accepted. But let it be noted that we are against joint electorate. We suffered heavily under it. The history of the elections will show that very clearly. Nor most of us are in favour of reservation of seats. I admit the resolution is not perfect. It has been suggested that there are various difficulties in the resolution. My Hon'ble friend, Mr. Salem said that there is a lot of confusion in this resolution. Yes. There is a lot of confusion. When we are taking the resolution part by part conflicting ideas do follow. But it is certainly a common principle of interpretation that a document or provision must be taken as a whole. Here therefore you have to take the resolution as a whole. Then again the difficulties of working have been alluded to. I do not think that there is much difficulty in working out this resolution. I ask the hon'ble members whether there are not more complicated systems. What about the system of proportional representation that is being followed in some countries. Even professors of political science do not understand the complicated method of voting and the complicated method of calculating in that system. When compared with such a system, what is the difficulty of working out a system like this? An objection has again been put forward that there has been fragmentation. Yes. Some time back, there was no special electorate for Latin Christians. In fairness, in justice, a special electorate was given to them and many are happy over it. I will also point out that the present resolution is perhaps a factor working in a good direction. While giving special electorates, it, at the same time allows us to join with others. We need not be merged into general electorates all at once. But we shall be going nearer and nearer to the other communities in British India. For these reasons, Sir, I support this resolution.

മിസ്റ്റർ ബി. എം. പീറർ: സർ, ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട ചാലക്കുടി മെമ്പർ കൊണ്ടുവന്നിരിക്കുന്ന ഈ പ്രമേയത്തെ ഞാൻ അനുകൂലിക്കുന്നു. അതേസമയത്തുതന്നെ ഇവിടെ ഹാജരാക്കപ്പെട്ട മിസ്റ്റർ മത്തായിയുടെ ഭേദഗതിയെ എതിർക്കുകയും ചെയ്യുന്നു. ഈ സമുദായവാദം ഇന്നും ഇന്നലെയും ഉള്ളതല്ല. വളരെ കൊല്ലങ്ങളായി ഈ ഭാരതം ഒട്ടുക്കു നടപ്പിലിരിക്കുന്ന ഒരു സംഗതിയാണിതു്. കൊച്ചിയിലും ഈ സമുദായവാദം ഇന്നും മാറിയിട്ടില്ലെന്നുള്ളതു് ഇന്നത്തെ കൌൺസിലിന്റെ സ്ഥിതികൊണ്ടുതന്നെ വ്യക്തമാകുന്നുണ്ടു്. ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മന്ത്രി അവർകൾതന്നെ ഇന്നു് ഈ സമുദായവാദം ഇവിടെ പ്രത്യക്ഷപ്പെട്ട അവസരത്തിൽ അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ സാക്ഷാൽനിറം എന്താണെന്നു് ഈ സഭയെ ധരിപ്പിച്ചുകഴിഞ്ഞിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നാണു് ഞാൻ വിചാരിക്കുന്നതു്.

ഡോക്ടർ എ. ആർ. മേനോൻ: നിറം കറുപ്പാണെന്നു് എല്ലാവർക്കും അറിയാമല്ലോ.

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മിസ്റ്റർ ബി. എം. പീറർ: ഇപ്പോഴും ആ ദേശീയവാദത്തിനു നിങ്ങൾ സ്ഥലം അനുവദിക്കുന്നില്ല. ഇന്നും സമുദായവാദത്തിനുതന്നെയാണു് ഇവിടെ സ്ഥലം അനുവദിക്കുന്നതു്. ഈ സമുദായവാദത്തിനുവേണ്ടതായ പരിരക്ഷകൾചെയ്തുകൊടുത്തല്ലാതെ പ്രജായത്ത ഭരണത്തെ നിലനിൽത്തിക്കൊണ്ടുപോകുവാൻ സാധിക്കയില്ലെന്നാണു് ഞാൻ പറയുന്നതു്. എന്നാൽ ഞങ്ങൾ അവശസമുദായത്തിൽ പെട്ടവരാണു്, അല്ലെങ്കിൽ ന്യൂനപക്ഷ സമുദായത്തിൽ പെട്ടവരാണു്. ഞങ്ങൾ അനുഭവിക്കുന്ന ദുരിതങ്ങളെ സഭമുമ്പാകെ കൊണ്ടുവരുന്നു. ഞങ്ങളുടെ സഹോദര സമുദായങ്ങൾ അതിനുവേണ്ടതൊക്ക പരിരക്ഷകൾ ചെയ്തു് ഞങ്ങളെ സഹായിക്കണമെന്നാണു് എന്റെ അപേക്ഷ. അങ്ങിനെ സൌഹാർദ്ദമനസ്ഥിതിയോടുകൂടി സമുദായങ്ങൾ വർത്തിച്ചില്ലെങ്കിൽ നമ്മുടെ പ്രജായത്തഭരണ മനസ്ഥിതിയെല്ലാം വെറും ചാമ്പൽ എന്നു മാത്രമാണു് എനിക്കു പറയുവാനുള്ളതു്. അതുകൊണ്ടു് മിസ്റ്റർ മൂത്തേടന്റെ പ്രമേയത്തെ അനുകൂലിക്കുന്നതോടുകൂടി അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ ക്രിസ്റ്റ്യൻ സ്ഥിരിറിനെ അഭിനന്ദിക്കയും ചെയ്യുന്നു.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Diwan Peishkar)* : Mr. President Sir, In replying on behalf of the Government, I have, after the very elaborate speeches which we have just heard on the floor of this House, no desire to make a long speech myself. When once the right to special representation is conceded to a community or communities, there are generally two view-points that come into play. One is with respect to the channel of entry into or the method of representation to the Council. There is one set of opinion wholly for communal electorates. They point out that, when once you concede the right of a community for special representation, logically it should follow that the right of choosing their own representatives should be left to themselves. That is one view-point. Communal representation should logically be followed by communal electorates. They even go further and maintain as the Hon'ble Member Mr. Ayyappan maintains that communalism is really nationalism. It is not very much different from nationalism. The adherence to communalism need not necessarily be a negation of nationalism. They therefore maintain that communal representation should be followed by communal electorate.

Mr. K. Ayyappan *(Ezhuvas-Kanayannur)* : In India communalisam is real nationalism.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Diwan Peishkar)* : That is as much as to say that in India communalism is nationalism or anti-communalism. They even go to that extent. They further seek to support that argument by saying "Look at the History of the well conducted legislatures in this country". It shows that in spite of the fact that people come here through the door of communal electorates, the way in which they conduct themselves is a repudiation of the theory that communalism will work against nationalism. There

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is another school of thought which says that for giving special representation, the best form of the channel of entry would be by reservation. That principle is advocated by those who have got a lurking feeling that communalism is not for the country's good, that it is a lapse from the ideal. Then they want to divest it of some of its objectionable features by having recourse to reservation. The principle of reservation in this view would be a tribute paid by communalism to nationalism; the homage paid by an imperfect actual to a perfect ideal. These are the two view points. These view points are nothing new. Exponents of these views have very ably presented their case before the members of the Franchise Committee. The persons who gave evidence then also gave us the benefit of their considered opinions. The Committee submitted its report to Government and that report was considered by the Government and the present system is the result of the decision by the Government. The position of the Government is that unless the present recommendation is such as to convince the Government that a change in the present system is necessary, it has to oppose the resolution, and I may on behalf of the Government say that no change in the position taken up by the Government is called for. The stand taken by the Government is supported by two strong parties. One is the Cochin Congress Party and the other is the Progressive Party.

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* No. No.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon (*Diwan Peishkar*): Mr. Devassy has distinctly said that there is no part of this resolution which can be accepted. He said that we must take an adjournment. The question then is whether the Government should change their opinion. The recommendation has not the effect of advocating anything else except communalism. The two parties thus are on the side of the Government in its opinion that the resolution does not achieve what it seeks to achieve. One party definitely wanted an adjournment, to see whether this resolution cannot be "hatched and hatched over again in the words of George Elliot". There is one party which definitely states that the resolution is ineffective. That is conceded by the Progressive Party also. But they said that it does not show that it should at once be exterminated. We must in their view keep it before us until we get a better resolution. The other party said that it is not the proper procedure. I am simply summarising the view points of the hon'ble members. The Government have already come to a definite conclusion, and before you ask the Government to change it, you must make it clear that there is a necessity for the change. The fact is conceded that this resolution cannot achieve what is intended to be achieved.

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Mr. K. Ayyappan *(Ezhuvas-Kanayannur):* What is the definition of nationalism ?

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Diwan Peishkar):* Nationalism in my opinion is the common capacity to come together in common cases or matters which affect the common people. Nationalism undiluted is a common ability to act on a common platform for common welfare. And so defined, it is the complete opposite of particular desires, particular ambitions and particular interests. Now, I was not upon that matter. The Hon'ble Member Mr. Pylee said that the present system preserves communalism, whereas I find here brilliant speeches advocating that this is specially in favour of the cherished goal and therefore deserves support.

Mr. L. M. Pylee *(Latin Christians-Ernakulam):* What I said was, it is a remedy to both.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Diwan Peishkar):* In other words, this is one of those wonderful remedies that destroys communalism while preserving it.

Mr. K. Ayyappan *(Ezhuvas-Kanayannur):* That is the beauty of it.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Diwan Peishkar):* It is both nationalistic and communalistic. Is that the beauty ? That is the only humorous thing which was heard today in all the speeches made here and that being so, I pay my reverent attention to it. Leaving all that, if you read the resolution, it recommends reservation of seats with a view to the ultimate realisation of nationalism with, at the same time, the preservation of communalism. Reservation of seats plus preservation of communalism is a thing which cannot appeal to anyone. What is in fact that we are told ? What is the effect of this resolution ? It simply says this. You can give liberty of voting for all, but the moment the communities say this is not our man, that liberty is gone. In other words, the gentleman who is supposed to march along the road to nationalism has still got to carry the drag of communalism with him. The only thing is that instead of carrying the burden himself on his head, he passed it to another's head and holds on to that man. One man is relieved of his weight, but still he has to rely upon another man who carries the weight. He asks that friend, let us march on together ; in this way we shall make wonderful progress. That is the only effect of this resolution. There can only be either two people or more than two people competing in a constituency like this. Where one man competes then there is no difficulty. But where two people are competing even though the general electorate says, we don't want you, to one man, if the communal electorate comes and says, we want him,

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your opinion has to be thrown into the lumber room of discarded opinions. Suppose three people are competing. In that case, if the community says, we are utterly indifferent as to whom we are electing, A B or C is equally acceptable to us, then the matter is left to the general electorate.

Mr. K. Ayyappan *(Ezhuvas-Kanayannur):* One community will be trying to get 51 per cent for one candidate. Similarly the other communities will be trying to see that any one of their candidates get 51 per cent of the votes.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Diwan Peishkar):* If a community has got preference for one man, that preference will be expressed in a majority. That is clear. The community connot be neutral and divide the votes exactly fifty—fifty. If the community expresses its desire by a preponderant majority, then the other communities are helpless. What is the march towards nationalism in this? If in a conflict between communalism and nationalism, nationalism has to give way, where is the progress towards the ideal? The hon'ble members on the other side say, they do not agree to implications of this resolution. What they say is, this is a bad child, we cannot own it, but let us adopt the child, as our own *(Laughter)*. Two of the major parties in this House, as I pointed out, are emphatic in their determination, to oppose the resolution. Government says, it agrees with both these people. The Cochin Congress opposed the adjournment also. These are all the recommendations, and if one recommendation is bad, we have got abundant time to bring in other recommendations and in the conduct of business requests can be made that, that recommendation should be given preference whatever be the ballotted order. This is the position.

Therefore, my submission is, we are all agreed upon the merit of this resolution, and that is, that it has very little merit. That being so, the Government think that they would rather have the existing system continued. I therefore oppose the resolution.

Mr. A. V. Moothedan *(Chalakkudi):* Sir, from the discussions that took place in this House, one thing became clear, and that is, anything other than joint electorate would not be acceptable to the ministerialist party. Any other solution would be unacceptable. They want only joint electorates with reservation of seats.

Mr. P. Govinda Menon *(Mulakunnathukavu):* No.

Mr. K. Ayyappan *(Ezhuvas-Kanayannur):* May I know whether the ministerialist party favours joint electorate with reservation of seats and single votes?

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Mr. P. Govinda Menon *(Mulakunnathukavu):* You table such a resolution. Then we shall state our position.

Mr. A. V. Moothedan *(Chalakkudi):* That is why we want to adjourn the discussion to see whether we can find out a solution agreeable to all the parties. But you opposed then. That shows that you want only joint electorate with reservation of seats.

Mr. P. Govinda Menon *(Mulakunnathukavu):* That is not our position.

Mr. A. V. Moothedan *(Chalakkudi):* Then what is your position ?

Mr. P. Govinda Menon *(Mulakunnathukavu):* This is not the occasion to state it.

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* But your leader has accepted that position.

Mr. P. Govinda Menon *(Mulakunnathukavu):* No.

Mr. A. V. Moothedan *(Chalakkudi):* So I say once again that the ministerialist party favours only joint electorates with reservation of seats.

Mr. P. Govinda Menon *(Mulakunnathukavu):* You cannot say so.

Mr. A. V. Moothedan *(Chalakkudi):* You have no position. You have not spoken on this resolution.

Mr. P. Govinda Menon *(Mulakunnathukavu):* Have I no position ? *(Laughter.)*

Mr. A. V. Moothedan *(Chalakkudi):* Apart from the party you have no position. Your party leader spoke on the resolution and he does not contradict what I say. What is your party if there is no coherence?

Mr. P. Govinda Menon *(Mulakunnathukavu):* What is your resolution if there is no sense?

Mr. A. V. Moothedan *(Chalakkudi):* That I shall see, you are not to judge it.

Deputy President: Order, order.

Mr. A. V. Moothedan *(Chalakkudi):* As I explained in my earlier speech, there are three systems of electorates. The first is joint electorate without any reservation whatsoever. That is the ideal state of affairs in a state where all the communities are equally advanced. That is the cherished goal. Secondly, there is the joint electorate with reservation of seats. Then there is special communal electorate like the one we are having now. The ministerialist

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party is prepared only to accept joint electorates with reservation of seats. My resolution is a *via media* between the second system and the third system. In my opinion, this is an advance on the existing state of affairs. We wanted an adjournment of the discussion of this resolution so as to find out a formula acceptable to all. But the Congress party refused to agree, because they do not want any compromise, except joint electorates with reservation of seats.

Mr. P. Govinda Menon *(Mulakunnathukavu):* It does not mean that.

Mr. A. V. Moothedan *(Chalakkudi):* I ignore the interruption. The public will understand the meaning of your meaningless interruptions.

Mr. P. Govinda Menon *(Mulakunnathukavu):* We speak for the understanding of the Council.

Mr. A. V. Moothedan *(Chalakkudi):* And through it to the public also. Now, I want to answer to some of the points raised by the Hon'ble Member for Trichur, Mr. C. R. Iyyunni and the Hon'ble Minister, Dr. A. R. Menon.

Mr. V. J. Mathai *(Planters):* Why not I?

Mr. A. V. Moothedan *(Chalakkudi):* Mr. Iyyunni was suggesting that this resolution was against the interests of the community which I represent.

Mr. V. J. Mathai *(Planters):* You are a cats-paw.

Mr. A. V. Moothedan *(Chalakkudi):* According to Mr. Iyyunni, I am made a cats-paw by the Ezhuvas and the Latin Christians. According to him the two communities that get benefit by this resolution are the Ezhuvas and the Latin Christians. Regarding the Latin Christians, they are Roman Catholics and I am also a Roman Catholic. There is absolutely no difference between a Roman Catholic and a Latin Catholic. The language of the service is different, that is all. Therefore, if the Latin Christians are benefitted, I shall be only glad. Regarding the Ezhuvas, I ask, what harm is there if the Ezhuvas get the advantage? Is it not the duty of every Christian to help his backward brother *(Hear, hear)*? What did Christ do?

Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri):* The Christ was a Jew.

Mr. A. V. Moothedan *(Chalakkudi):* He was a Jew and his followers were fishermen. If the Ezhuvas are really backward, we should help them. Mr. Iyyunni said that there were five members here belonging to his community. But we can take into account only four, because the Trichur Women's Constituency is a special one. Only four Romo Syrians were returned from the General

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Constituencies. If you examine the history of this Council, you will see that in no Council there has been such a reduction in our strength. Our strength is nearly two lakhs. Of all the Christians, we have got the maximum number and yet we have got only four members. I would say that this is the direct result of the Franchise Committee Report, and I have made my position very clear during the budget discussion of 1113. In this connection, I would draw the attention of the House, to the fact that the Franchise Committee wanted to give Christians a fair chance of being returned from Nellayi, Kattur and Anthikad, but all these constituencies have been won by caste-Hindus representing the party to which Mr. Iyyunni belongs. Mr. Iyyunni could have exerted his influence in the party for reserving at least one of these constituencies to Christians.

Mr. P. Govinda Menon *(Mulakunnathukavu):* We do not represent caste-Hindus.

Mr. A. V. Moothedan *(Chalakkudi):* From this it will be clear which of us has acted against the interest of the community, Mr. Iyyunni or myself.

Mr. C. R. Iyyunni *(Trichur-South):* Are you against reservation of seats?

Mr. A. V. Moothedan *(Chalakkudi):* Let me now quote one sentence from what the Hon'ble Minister said: "You come and share with us all our troubles or keep aloof." The meaning of this is, either take general electorates or special communal electorates. Now my friend belongs to the Indian National Congress whose true representative the Cochin Congress is. Is it nationalism to ask us to have special communal electorates? My resolution may be defective. It may be impracticable, good-for-nothing. Even then, it is a step forward and the ministerialists party was not able to place any alternate solution acceptable to the communities. We say, try it, but the ministerialist party refuses even to consider it. We asked the ministerialist party to put our heads together and arrive at an agreed formula. But they refused. Is this a reasonable attitude?

Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri):* Why didn't you advocate this before coming to the Council?

Mr. A. V. Moothedan *(Chalakkudi):* Sir, I wish to add nothing more. By this resolution my only object is the political advancement of the State. Now about four lakhs of people are separated and shut up in a certain place.

Mr. P. Govinda Menon *(Mulakunnathukavu):* Who separated them?

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Mr. A. V. Moothedan *(Chalakkudi):* Therefore, what I say is, it is not conducive to the healthy progress of the State to continue the present system. Any improvement on that system should be welcome and the House should consider this matter in that light. I would request every hon'ble member to vote for the resolution. Sir, I press the resolution to a division.

Mr. V. J. Mathai *(Planters):* Sir, before my amendment is put to vote, I wish to make a short statement. By my amendment I wanted to improve the resolution, bad as it is *(Laughter)*. If you are not prepared to accept the amendment, I do not want to improve it at all. Therefore, with the leave of the House, I beg to withdraw the amendment with the reservation that I may be permitted to vote bodily against the resolution.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn

Resolution put and lost

Mr. A. V. Moothedan *(Chalakkudi):* A poll, Sir.

Ayes

Messrs. 1. B. M. Peter
2. C. V. Iyyu
3. T. K. Nayar
4. T. V. Subramania Ayyar
5. K. Ayyappan
6. K. M. Ibrahim
7. K. S. Panicker
8. K. R. Ramakrishnan
9. K. R. Viswambharan
10. V. K. Krishnankutty
11. A. Eachara Menon
12. M. K. Devassy
13. A. V. Moothedan
14. L M. Pylee
15. K. P. Vallon

Noes

1. Mrs. Thankamma N. Menon
2. Mrs. C. R. Iyyunni
3. Mr. V. J. Mathai
4. Mr. M. Sivarama Menon
5. Mr. K. Kochukunhan Kaimal
6. Mr. P. K. Madhava Menon
7. Mr. Ismail Hajee Essa Sait
8. Mr. Popatlal Goverdhan Lalan
9. Mr. A. B. Salem
10. Mr. P. Govinda Menon
11. Mr. C. R. Iyyunni
12. Mr. E. Ikkanda Warriar
13. Mr. N. Govinda Pai
14. Mr. N. V. Subbarayan Chettiar
15. Dr. A. R. Menon
16. Mr. V. K. Aravindaksha Menon
17. Mr. M. Raman Menon
18. Mr. T. Narayana Menon
19. Mr. K. V. Menon
20. Rao Bahadur M. Narayana Menon
21. Dr. T. Verghese
22. Mr. C. A. Kunjunni Raja
23. Mr. P. J. George
24. Mr. K. Achyuta Menon
25. Mr. K. P. Kannan Nayar

Deputy President : *15 for and 25 against.*

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Mr. Ismail Hajee Essa Sait *(Mattancheri):* Sir, the neutrals may also be noted.

Neutrals

1. Mr. H. J. Walmesley 2. Mr. V. K. Kutty

5. Stoping the practice of leasing out promboke chals in cultivable areas for fishing

മിസ്റ്റർ ബി. എം. പീറാർ: സർ, "കരിനിലങ്ങളിലുള്ള പുറമ്പോക്ക ചാലുകൾ മത്സ്യക്കൃഷിക്കു കൊടുക്കുന്നതിനാൽ മത്സ്യാദായത്തെ ഉദ്ദേശിച്ച് ഉപ്പുവെള്ളം കയറിറക്കുചെയ്യുവരുന്നതുകൊണ്ടു വലുതായ കൃഷിനാശവും പല ഇനം കൃഷികൾ നടത്തുന്നതിനു കഴിവില്ലാതെയും വരുന്നതിനാൽ മത്സ്യക്കൃഷിക്കു കൊടുക്കുന്ന സമ്പ്രദായം നിറുത്തൽചെയ്തു തരുവാൻ ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട ഗവൺമെൻറിനോടു ശുപാർശചെയ്യുന്നു" എന്നുള്ളതാണ് എൻറെ പ്രമേയം.

മുൻകാലങ്ങളിൽ ഈ കൃഷിനിലത്തിലുള്ള പുറമ്പോക്ക ചാലുകളുടെ ഉപയോഗം ആ നിലത്തിൽ കെട്ടിനില്ക്കുന്ന വെള്ളം പുറത്തേക്കു വിടുന്നതിനാണ്. ഒരു പടവിൽ നോക്കിയാൽ അതുകൊണ്ടു അനവധി കൃഷിക്കാർക്കു ഗുണമുള്ളതായിട്ടു കാണാം. കൃഷിക്കാരുടെ സംരക്ഷണത്തിനു വേണ്ടിയാണ് ഇങ്ങിനെയുള്ള ചാലുകൾ പൊതുവെ ഗവൺമെൻറ് ഇടുകയും അതിനു വേണ്ടത്ര സംരക്ഷണങ്ങൾ ഗവൺമെൻറ് ചെയ്തുപോരുകയും ചെയ്തുവരുന്നു. പക്ഷേ കാലക്രമേണ ഇങ്ങിനെയുള്ള ചാലുകളുടെ ഉപയോഗം മാറി ആ ചാലുകളെ മത്സ്യക്കൃഷിക്കു കൊടുത്തു മത്സ്യാദായം എടുക്കുന്നതിനു ഗവൺമെൻറ് ഉദ്ദേശിച്ചു. ആ ഉദ്ദേശത്തെ ലാക്കാക്കി ഇങ്ങിനെയുള്ള ചാലുകൾ പരസ്യമായി ലേലംചെയ്തു ഇപ്പോൾ കൺട്രാക്ടർമാരെ ഏല്പിച്ചു കൊടുത്തുവരുകയാണ് പതിവു്. എന്നാൽ ഈ സമ്പ്രദായം വന്നതോടുകൂടി ഈ പടവുകളിൽ പെട്ടന്ന കൃഷിസ്ഥലങ്ങൾ മിക്കതും കൃഷിചെയ്യുവാൻ നിവൃത്തിയില്ലാതെ, കൃഷി ചെയ്താൽ വിളവില്ലാതെ, നശിച്ചുപോകയാണു ചെയ്യുന്നതു്. ഇതു മാത്രമല്ല ഈ കയറുന്ന ഉപ്പുവെള്ളം പലവിധത്തിലുള്ള കൃഷികളേയും ഹനിക്കുന്ന ഒന്നാണു്. പഴയകാലങ്ങളിൽ ഈ വക നിലങ്ങളിൽ കൊണ്ടൽകൃഷി മുതലായതു് നടത്തിവന്നിരുന്നു. എന്നാൽ ഈ ഉപ്പുവെള്ളം കയറിവിടുന്നതുകൊണ്ടു് അങ്ങിനെയുള്ള കൊണ്ടൽകൃഷികളിൽ നിന്നും യാതൊരു ആദായവും ഇല്ലാതെയായിട്ടുണ്ടു്. സാധാരണയായി ഉപ്പുവെള്ളമുള്ള കാലമാണു് ഈ വെള്ളം കയറിവിടുന്നതു്.

അതുകൊണ്ടു് ഈ ഇനത്തിൽ ഗവൺമെൻറിനു കിട്ടുന്ന തുച്ഛമായ ആദായത്തെ ലാക്കാക്കാതെ ഈ നൂതന സമ്പ്രദായം നിറുത്തൽചെയ്തു ഇതുമൂലം ബുദ്ധിമുട്ടുന്ന കൃഷിക്കാരേയും നാട്ടുകാരേയും രക്ഷിക്കണമെന്നു അപേക്ഷിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു് ഞാൻ ഈ പ്രമേയം ഇവിടെ അവതരിപ്പിച്ചുകൊള്ളുന്നു.

മിസ്റ്റർ വി. കെ. കുട്ടി: സർ, ഈ പ്രമേയത്തെ ഞാൻ ഹാർദ്ദമായി പിന്താങ്ങുന്നു. ഉപ്പുവെള്ളം കയറി നാടു മുഴുവൻ നശിക്കുന്നതുകൊണ്ടു കൂടിക്കുവാൻ നല്ലവെള്ളം കിട്ടാതെ ആളുകൾ സങ്കടം അനുഭവിച്ചുവരുന്നതൊക്കെ കണ്ടിട്ടുള്ള ഒരാളാണു് ഞാൻ. ഉപ്പുവെള്ളം നിലങ്ങളിൽ കയറുന്നതു് കൃഷിക്കു ദോഷമാണെന്നു കൃഷിക്കാർ പറയുമ്പോൾ കൃഷിയെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു യാതൊരു ഉത്തരവാദിത്വവും ചുമതലയും അറിവും ഇല്ലാത്ത ചിലർ പുറത്തു

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